



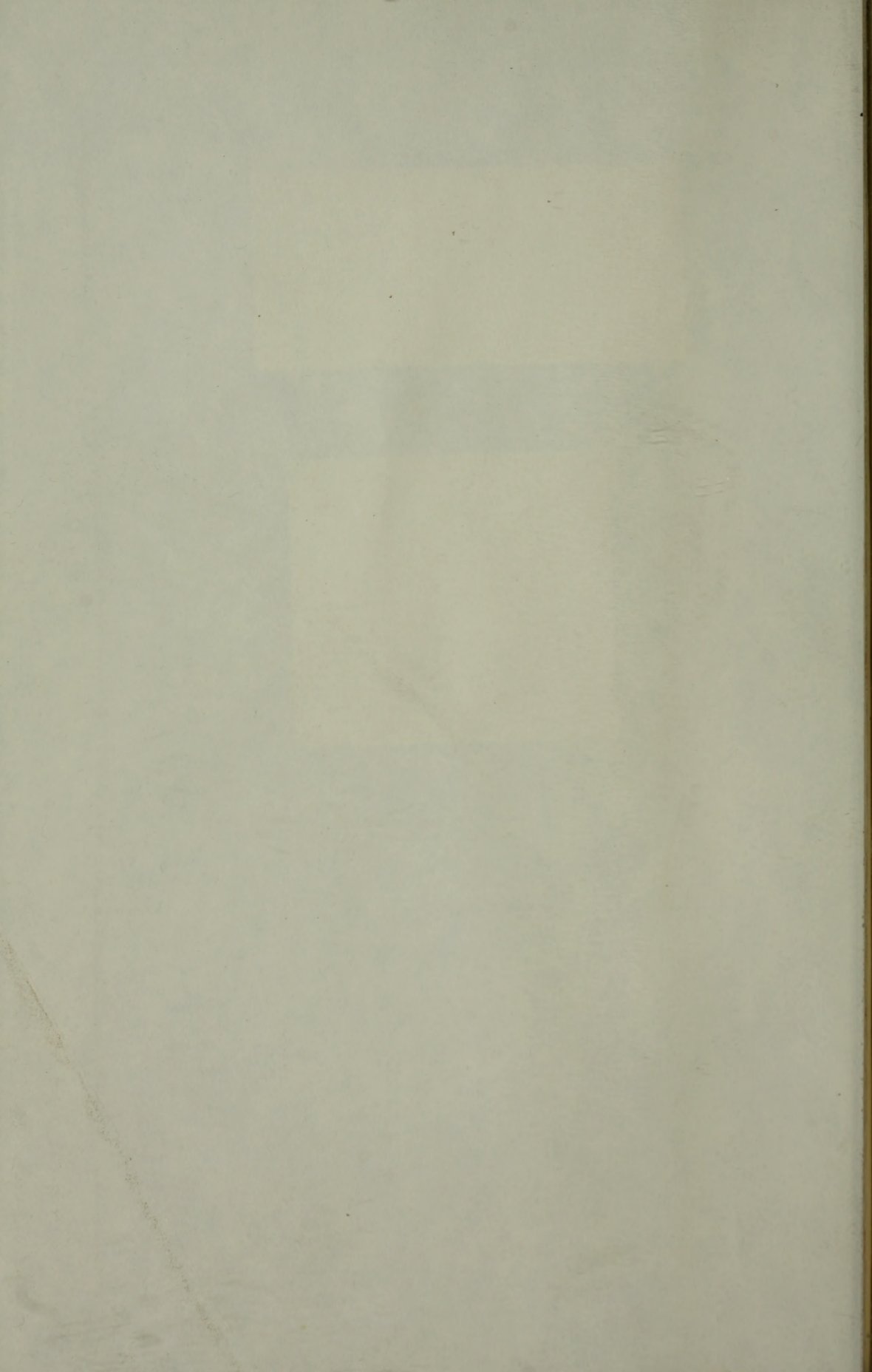
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245904

# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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Negro Rights Activities  
in Gold Rush California

*By* RUDOLPH M. LAPP

Los Alamitos:  
The Indian and Rancho Phases

*By* W. W. ROBINSON

Pictures from Yosemite's Past  
Galen Clark's Photograph Album

*By* SHIRLEY SARGENT

California Crops that Failed

*By* JOHN E. BAUR

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MARCH 1966

## A MAJOR PUBLISHING EVENT...

With great pride the California Historical Society announces the completion and publication in one volume of

THE INDEX  
of the California Historical Society Quarterly  
Volumes One to Forty  
1922-1961

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CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

2090 JACKSON STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109



# California Historical Society Quarterly<sup>245904</sup>

2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

MANUEL P. SERVÍN, *Editor*

DONALD C. BIGGS, *Director*

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Vol. XLV

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### STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. *Date of filing*: September 30, 1965. 2. *Title of Publication*: CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY. 3. *Frequency of Issue*: Quarterly. 4. *Location of Known Office of Publication*: 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, Los Angeles County, California 91108. 5. *Location of Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publishers*: 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, San Francisco County, California 94109. 6. *Publisher*: California Historical Society. 7. *Editor*: Manuel P. Servin. *Managing Editor*: None. 8. *Owner*: California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109. 9. *Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and other Security Holders or Owning or Holding 1 percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities*: None. 10. (A) *Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)*: Average During the Preceding 12 Months, 4,253; Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date, 4,157. (B) *Paid Sales Circulation*: Average During the Preceding 12 Months, 100; Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date, 50. (C) *Paid Mail Subscription Circulation*: Average During the Preceding 12 Months, 4,000; Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date, 3822. (D) *Total Paid Circulation*: Average During the Preceding 12 Months, 4,100; Single Issue Nearest Filing Date, 3,822. (E) *Free Distribution*: None. (F) *Total Distribution*: Average During Preceding 12 Months, 4,100; Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date, 3,872. (G) *Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled after Printing*: Average During the Preceding 12 Months, 153; Single Issue Nearest Filing Date, 381. (H) *Total*: Average During the Preceding 12 Months, 4,253; Single Issue Nearest Filing Date, 4,253.

The Quarterly is distributed to members only. Extra copies and back numbers may be purchased at two dollars per copy (plus fifteen cents for handling) with the exception of certain numbers which are very scarce or out of print.

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# Negro Rights Activities in Gold Rush California

By RUDOLPH M. LAPP

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LONG BEFORE THE Civil War free Negroes were active in movements to improve the position of their people in American society. Recent events of this kind are actually a continuum of earlier, lesser known efforts. The nineteenth century free Negro also had his detractors and his supporters. His struggles were marked by some successes and many defeats. Little has been written of the leadership he developed, the campaigns he conducted, and the frustrations he endured. While the greatest part of this story is set in the eastern states of the North, the Gold Rush brought a chapter of it to California.

The Negro population of Gold Rush California was not large. They comprised roughly 1 percent of the population. The significance of their story is not in their number but rather in the moral force that the Negroes were able to exert and the courage they displayed. Above all, the account of Negro organization and their struggles against often insurmountable odds testifies to the inaccuracy of the belief that the American Negro did little on his own behalf.

In the spring of 1850 the *Daily Alta* of San Francisco stated that in their opinion most forty-niner Negroes had become free. The 1850 census supported this view, of course, since slavery was declared illegal in the 1849 state constitution and there was no provision for enumerating slaves on the census forms. The census merely states there were 962 Negroes in the state at that time.

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RUDOLPH M. LAPP, who is currently doing a general study of the Negro in California from 1849 to 1875, is a member of the staff of the College of San Mateo. Professor Lapp received his Ph.D. degree in U.S. Southern History from the University of California at Berkeley.

The research for this article was financially assisted in part by a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society.

Future research may provide a more precise statistic on how many of the 962 California Negroes were slaves or free men.

The fact, however, of a significant number of Negroes in a slave condition in a state that had excluded the "peculiar" institution provided the setting for the first of what can be called Negro rights struggles in California. Had every Negro who came to California with the promise of freedom been granted that freedom and had every slave who came to the state without freedom commitments not had any freedom thoughts of his own, there would not be any story. But masters did try to break their promises, and slaves did decide to strike for freedom in Gold Rush California.

The fugitive slave fights in the early months and years did not seem to be associated with carefully laid plans by well organized groups. Rather they were a blend of personal courage, aid from unknown free Negroes, and legal help from local sympathetic lawyers and judges. Perhaps the most important catalytic agent in every case was the free Negro who told his black brother that in California he had a legal chance for freedom. One of the earliest cases occurred in San Jose in February, 1850. It came to the attention of the authorities as a street brawl in which a white man was beating a Negro with a club. Cries of shame were reported from the crowd, and the marshal took both parties into custody. The court proceedings revealed that the white man claimed the Negro as his slave and complained that his contact with the free Negroes of San Jose had spoiled him to the point where he refused to be obedient property and leave the city with his master. The alcalde ruled in favor of the master. With the assistance of the local authorities, the Negro was spirited away in time to avoid a writ that several friendly lawyers brought too late to the alcalde.<sup>3</sup>

Cornelius Cole, the venerable early Californian, thought in later days that he and Judge Crocker were the only members of the legal profession in Sacramento who came to the defense of the Negro.<sup>4</sup> His memory was not too good in this matter because there were others that he was associated with in court cases. In Sacramento only a few months after the unhappy San Jose case, another street brawl involving a Negro named Charles resulted in another fugitive slave case. In this instance the judge set the Negro free. He pointed out to the presumed master that the laws passed before as well as after the American con-

quest of California made Charles a free man. One of the attorneys for the Negro was Joseph Winans who was to be involved again in fugitive slave matters and to become one of the outstanding members of the legal fraternity in the state. He has been described as the "first scholar of the Bar."<sup>5</sup>

The next important case occurred in a court in San Francisco in March, 1851. A Missourian had brought to the mines a "yellow boy," as the newspapers described him, named Frank who decided in the atmosphere of the Sierras to run away. His master tracked him down and had him confined preparatory to returning to Missouri. In San Francisco legal aid was provided by attorney S. W. Holladay, and a writ was presented to Judge Morrison to set him free. Judge Morrison, after a few days' deliberation, set Frank free claiming that California laws supported his decision and that the National Fugitive Slave Law was not involved. His reasoning was that Frank did not come to California as a fugitive. His running away activities began within the boundaries of the state which were not offenses in California law. The judge must have had a sardonic sense of humor, for he continued in his decision to pour a bit of salt on the wounded feelings of the proslavery listeners. It seems that in the course of interrogation Frank had stated that he had been a slave in Missouri. The judge calmly rejected this bit of testimony because the California state legislature had only the year before made Negro testimony illegal in civil and criminal cases! This case was notable in another way. It seems that the Negro community of San Francisco was noticeably involved in its outcome. This may have been the first stimulus to active organization.<sup>6</sup>

It soon became apparent that slave owners who were tarrying too long in California were in danger of losing their property. If the word got around, Judge Morrison's court could become quite busy.

In the first month of 1852 a champion for the slave owner emerged. He was Assemblyman Henry A. Crabb, a Southern aristocrat, who gained a tragic fame a few years later by losing his life in a Sonoran filibustering adventure. Crabb introduced a fugitive slave bill in January, 1852, that gave white men arbitrary powers in returning Negroes whom they claimed as slaves in Southern states. Assemblyman Ellis of San Francisco had the suspicious feeling that a portion of this bill was so written in order to allow slavery to establish itself in California



through the back door. Crabb's bill did not sharply define any limits on how long a slave owner might remain in California. Ellis' amending proposals were rejected. When the unchanged bill reached the senate, it faced more formidable opposition. Here David Broderick voiced his apprehensions. He feared that the bill did nothing to protect the Negro who came to California with the promise of freedom from a callously capricious former owner or from some white man with the talents of a Negro kidnapper. Through much of April, 1852, the senate debated the bill with Broderick gaining strong but not quite sufficient support. The bill was passed fourteen to nine with Broderick in the minority.<sup>7</sup>

It was not too long before Broderick's fears were realized. In April of the following year the first publicly noted attempt to return a free Negro girl to slavery was reported in the *Daily Alta*. The attempt took place in Auburn, California, but fortunately a local lawyer was the custodian of the young woman's freedom papers and could produce them in court. The claimant was the son of the man who freed the girl, and he professed not to know of his father's action.<sup>8</sup> In Gold Springs, Tuolumne County, a Negro named Stephen Hill, who had been free long enough to accumulate property to the value of \$4,000, was imprisoned by men claiming to be agents of his former owner. They managed to destroy his freedom papers too. He was taken to Stockton where a daring escape was managed. Some years later a letter from a white man to the *Daily Alta* suggested that this escape involved a great deal of Caucasian collusion.<sup>9</sup>

It was inevitable that the constitutionality of Crabb's Fugitive Slave Act would be tested. The opportunity arose in what is called the Perkins Case. A Mississippian named Perkins claimed through agents that three Negroes working in Placer County, two of them bearing the name Perkins, were his fugitive property. A justice of the peace and then a county judge gave the three Negroes to Perkins' agent. In the meantime support was rolling up for the trio. Enlisted in their cause were lawyers Joseph Winans, Joseph Zabriskie, and Cornelius Cole. This battery of legal talent managed to temporarily rescue the three Negroes from a ship that was about to leave San Francisco. The case was brought directly to the state supreme court. The proslave court upheld the entire California Fugitive Slave law. It even upheld that section of the law that corroded the genuinely free Negro's right to



maintain his freedom. In 1855 that feature of the law was allowed to lapse, and the California Negro was in a slightly less uncertain status.<sup>10</sup>

The odious section of the state's fugitive slave law may have been allowed to lapse because it might have been believed that by 1855 the problem no longer existed. But its lapse may also be due to changes in public sentiment. The Methodist Minister M. C. Briggs of San Francisco noted in a letter, "There has been a manifestly growing change in public sentiment in this state, in respect of slavery." Just before the Frémont presidential campaign, a Missourian wrote to his brother from Columbia saying, "The Blue Bellied Yankees are every day getting a stronger hold." In 1857 even the San Francisco YMCA reflected sympathy for the Negro. They criticized the exclusion of Negroes practiced by certain eastern YMCA's.<sup>11</sup>

It was apparent that the California Negro had a growing number of friends in the white population, especially in San Francisco and Sacramento. These were found largely in the very young Republican Party. Of equal importance was the growing sturdiness of their own organizations and their determination to act. A German observer noted that wealthy California Negroes had become "especially talented" in stealing slaves to freedom. He added that they "exhibit a great deal of energy and intelligence in saving their brothers."<sup>12</sup>

In 1855 the California Negroes had a general marshalling of their forces through the meeting of the First Colored Convention. It was mainly concerned with the right of testimony in civil and criminal cases where white men were also involved. That the denial of this right was a tragic handicap soon became apparent through the fugitive slave experience. But as this issue gradually declined in importance, the problem of protection of life and property rose. The need for testimony rights was a clear requirement for manhood as well as for livelihood. The Negro whose wife or daughter was raped by a white man, without white witnesses, had no recourse to justice. The Negro who was robbed in open daylight in his shop was also defenseless if no white witness would agree to testify in his behalf. There is also scattered evidence that Negro farmers in California were ejected from lands they had cultivated because they could not testify to their ownership.<sup>13</sup> At the heart of this testimony issue was the California Negro's modest prosperity and ability to accumulate material goods in spite of handi-

caps. At this first convention one of the delegates announced that the property of the California Negro population was worth over three and one-half million dollars.<sup>14</sup> In all societies propertied classes have insisted on legal and political protection commensurate with their wealth.

The struggle for the right of testimony began several years before this statewide convention. It had its beginnings in a number of incidents in San Francisco. A Negro barber had been murdered by a white man who was never brought to justice because only Negro testimony was available. One of the most capable Negro leaders, Mifflin Wistar Gibbs, was humiliated when a white man came into the boot and shoe shop that Gibbs was a partner in and, in a series of shabby maneuvers, virtually stole an expensive pair of boots while beating Peter Lester, Gibbs' partner.<sup>15</sup> These, plus other factors, brought about the organization of the Franchise League in 1852 which was primarily a San Francisco organization.

The first effort of the league was a petition campaign to change the law in regard to Negro testimony. It was directed at the state legislature and it gathered names from whites as well as Negroes. The assembly received this petition in March, 1852, in the most insulting fashion. Assemblyman Cannay from Placer County presented the petition for Assemblyman Ellis from San Francisco in his absence. There were those in the assembly who shouted that it should not even be read. Assemblyman Hinchman pleaded for politeness in the matter. Assemblyman Crabb, the slave-catcher's friend, said that if Negroes only were associated with this petition it should not even be heard. It was finally heard, and then it was moved that a petition from "such a source" should not be officially received. Hinchman's vote was the only one for receiving the petition.<sup>16</sup>

One year later almost the same scene was repeated. The Franchise League had assembled another round of petitions, and these were presented by Assemblyman Meredith. One member of the assembly proposed that the petition be thrown out of the window. Patrick Cannay, who was chairman this time, ruled him out of order and was sustained. He needed to be sustained several times during that session when he had to rule out of order one insulting frivolity after another. Motions to reject and not to file the petition were passed almost unanimously. In referring to the behaviour of the assembly, the *San Francisco Daily*

*Alta* wrote, "Our doughty Assembly may possibly have laid themselves liable to the severest censure by the remarkable course pursued in this matter."<sup>17</sup>

Despite these depressing prospects, the Franchise League proceeded to organize the first statewide Negro convention for the following year, 1855. Perhaps the league drew its hope from looking to New England. While five northern states did prohibit Negro testimony in cases where white men were involved, none of them was in New England.<sup>18</sup> It may also have drawn strength from the activities of its colored convention compatriots in the East with whom its members were in correspondence. Many of these members had had organizational experience in the Eastern Negro rights movements.

The work of this convention produced even more petitions during the following months. More whites expressed their wish for justice to the Negro. In 1856 petitions were presented to the state legislature from San Francisco, Sacramento, and El Dorado counties to change the testimony laws. Support for such a change even came from the San Francisco County Grand Jury. All petitions were referred to the Judiciary Committee where they died. The Judiciary Committee was evidently not impressed with the fact that nearly three hundred lawyers had also given support to this legal reform proposal.<sup>19</sup>

The convention movement was not disheartened however. It prepared for another round and another convention in 1856. The year had seen more white friends enter the struggle. In fact, a great deal of its approach involved an appeal to the self-interest of white men: there were times when white men needed Negro testimony. A United States Circuit Court in San Francisco could not prosecute a seaman for killing a mate on the high seas because the only witness was a Negro.<sup>20</sup>

As one colored convention delegate put it:

I may see the assassin plunge the dagger to the vitals of my neighbor . . . I may overhear the robber of incendiary plotting the injury or utter ruin of my fellow-citizen . . . The robbery may follow, the conflagration may do its work, and the author of the evil may go unpunished because only a colored man saw the act or heard the plot. Under these circumstances who are not really injured and lose by the law? . . . is it not evident that the white citizen is an equal sufferer with us? When will the people of this state learn that justice to the colored man is justice to themselves?<sup>21</sup>

The 1856 Colored Convention was to be the biggest of the three before the Civil War. Sixty-one delegates came from seventeen counties. There were men of great ability, talent, and education at this gathering. The topic of education loomed up as a competitor to the issue of testimony. The California Negro community was sufficiently stabilized to be concerned about the education of its children. The white school systems in the state showed virtually no interest in Negro children at this time. These children obtained their basic education through the work of the churches and especially the efforts of one man, Jeremiah B. Sanderson, a Bedford, Massachusetts, Negro who was in effect the scribe for all the Colored conventions. With evidence of regret, however, the 1856 convention kept itself mainly to the single issue of testimony.

The resulting petition campaign rolled up another wave of strong white support. Petitions were presented to the assembly the following year from seven counties: San Francisco, Sacramento, and five mountain counties. San Francisco alone presented a petition with five-hundred signatures. But in the assembly nothing happened.<sup>23</sup>

While the testimony law had to wait until the Civil War before it was reformed, some judges in San Francisco were beginning to receive Negro testimony despite the state law. In an assault case in 1858 the defendant's lawyer tried to set aside an indictment because the injured party was a Negro and his testimony was thereby rendered invalid. The judge in the case so interpreted existing law as to accept the Negro's testimony. He claimed in his decision that he was in accordance with "the common-law, and with the principles of justice and humanity." The jury sustained the judge.<sup>24</sup> As a result of this case a police court shortly afterwards ruled in favor of a Negro woman in an assault and battery case.<sup>25</sup> A few weeks later an old Negro woman was able to obtain justice against a white man who had beaten her.<sup>26</sup>

The Third Colored Convention that met in 1857 was a bit smaller than the previous one, and must have taken place in an atmosphere of depression. The Dred Scott decision had been handed down that year, and in the California assembly there was talk of anti-Negro immigration legislation. The Dred Scott decision had produced additional problems for Negro farmers. As a result of this decision the United States Land Office denied pre-emption rights to Negroes. This convention



was, in addition, distracted by internal problems. Forgetting to heed the requirement that minority groups must be perfect in all things, members of the convention movement permitted themselves the luxury, granted only to Caucasians, of jealousies and pettiness. They were never to be quite free of this difficulty.<sup>27</sup>

The subsequent months saw another petition campaign. In spite of technical difficulties in assembling the petitions from some of the far-flung counties and the inadequate funds sent from those areas, a respectable showing was made. San Francisco and Sacramento counties came through very well as usual. Eighteen-hundred signatures were sent to the assembly from San Francisco alone.<sup>28</sup> A San Francisco newspaper noted that "the number of petitions favoring the repeal of the statute disqualifying Negroes and Mulattoes from giving evidence . . . causes them [the assemblymen] no little uneasiness."<sup>29</sup> The petitions were again buried in committee.

Some unfriendly assemblymen could find new excuses to be antagonistic to the Negro in 1858. This was the year of the famous Archy fugitive slave case.

While the fugitive slave problem was virtually nonexistent in California by 1858, the Archy case occurred because of the dull-wittedness of his owner in bringing him to California. It took on spectacular dimensions because of the supreme court's decision that legally Archy deserved his freedom. But out of kindness to his master, the court also decided he must return to slavery.<sup>30</sup> The press all over the state roared in ridicule, and the Negro community, especially in San Francisco, was thoroughly aroused.<sup>31</sup> The minute details of the Archy case make for another story. Suffice it to say, that the aggressive concern and involvement of San Francisco Negroes offended the tender sensibilities of some of the assemblymen. It is not clear whether the militancy of Bay Area Negroes had much to do with the rejection by the assembly of the testimony petitions, but it did have some bearing on a legislative attempt to register all free Negroes in California and bar future colored immigration into the state. Referring to the Archy excitement in San Francisco, State Senator Merritt in support of antifree Negro immigration legislation stated that "he becomes insolent and defiant, and, if in sufficient numbers, would become dangerous, as evidenced by recent occurrences in one of our cities."<sup>32</sup>



This was not the first effort to prevent Negro immigration to California. An attempt that died had been made at the constitutional convention. Assemblyman Crabb, who incidentally in the year of Archy's freedom was on his way to meet his own fate in Sonora, announced in 1852 that he would introduce a bill to prevent future Negro immigration into California.<sup>33</sup> It was not until 1857 that such a bill almost became a law. By a thirty to thirty-two vote the bill was defeated in the assembly.<sup>34</sup>

The year 1858 was a painfully dramatic one for California Negroes. There was to be another more serious attempt to prevent Negro immigration and to label the Negro a proscribed class. Many were to despair of legal relief and to begin to think of leaving the country. The only bright spot in that year was the astonishing victory of Archy at the hands of a federal official who was a Southerner!

The 1858 attempt to bar Negro immigration moved along more successfully than previous efforts. While feelings about the Archy case were discernible, there may have been other factors as well at play. The latter half of the 1850's in California was a period of some economic distress, and the cities and towns had increasing numbers of former miners seeking work. An antagonistic sentiment was rising against Chinese and Negroes. At almost the same time that the anti-Negro Immigration bill was running its course through the legislature, an Anti-Chinese bill of the same kind was on its way.<sup>35</sup>

The anti-Negro immigration bill was introduced in the assembly in March of 1858. Its provisions were harsh on Negroes who were in violation of the bill as well as white men who unwittingly hired Negroes who were subject to its exclusion provisions. The unwillingness of the assemblymen to modify the penalties on white employers of Negroes in violation of this act lends strength to the view that the legislators had the general problem of employment on their minds. Efforts to penalize a slave-owner who brought a Negro into the state after the effective date of the law were, however, defeated. The assemblymen were in no mood for moderation whenever this bill was up for discussion. A partial explanation for this impatience may be that this bill seemed to come to the floor repeatedly in the late afternoons or in the evening and that this session was in its last days. The bill was finally passed overwhelmingly in the assembly and sent to the senate.<sup>36</sup>

Uneasiness about this bill was more evident in this body. An attempt to postpone consideration indefinitely was defeated nine to seventeen. State Senator Bell attempted to introduce safeguards for California Negroes temporarily out of the state or members of their immediate families on their way to California. He won a temporary delay on this point, but the Judiciary Committee by a three to two vote rejected his suggestion. Maneuvering came to an end with the passage of the bill twenty-one to eight.<sup>37</sup> But the maneuvering bore fruit. The senate included some minor revisions that required the bill's return to the assembly for approval. The very impatient and partially drunk assembly had, however, in the meantime adjourned. The bill therefore died.<sup>38</sup>

Had this bill passed, at least two very influential newspapers, the Sacramento *Daily Union* and the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, thought that it would be unenforceable. As it worked its way through the legislature, these newspapers reported the proceedings with undisguised distaste. In their view it was unnecessarily harsh to the Negro.<sup>39</sup> The *Daily Evening Bulletin* defended the California Negroes by making a case for them—with some logic—as the best of the free Negro group in the United States. It saw some merit in preventing future immigration of Negroes but pleaded for more kindness in treating the resident population.<sup>40</sup> At least one outstanding leader of the San Francisco Negro community took a thanks-but-no-thanks view of this kind of support. Mifflin Wistar Gibbs wrote to the *Evening Bulletin* defending free Negroes everywhere in the United States. He said, in part:

I appeal with pride to the history of the free colored people for the last twenty years in every free state in the Union . . . . During all that time, notwithstanding they have been subjected to the most unjust enactments and coerced by rigorous laws, pursued by a prejudice as unrelenting as inhuman, disregarded by the Church, and persecuted by the State—they have made steady progress, upward and onward, in oral and intellectual attainments.

I admit the right of a family or a nation to say who, from without, shall be a component part of its household or community; but the application of this principle should work no hardship to a colored man, for he was born in the great American family, and is your black brother—ugly though he may be—and is interested in its weal or woe, is taxed to support it, and having made up his mind to stay with the family, his right to the benefit of just government is as good as that of his pale face brother who clamors for his expatriation.<sup>41</sup>

Even as Gibbs wrote this ringing statement he must have been having doubts about remaining in the country of his birth. His letter appeared in the first week of April, 1858, and in the days that followed Negroes in San Francisco were conducting indignation meetings and talking about going to Canada. The anti-immigration bill seemed certain of passage, and there was excitement to the north due to the Frazier River Gold Rush.<sup>42</sup>

Accident in history played its part. Due to the Frazier River fever, the British officials in Victoria found it necessary to expand governmental functions. This required a building program that called for a large group of laborers. The gold rush had created a severe labor shortage in Victoria. British sea captains who knew about California and San Francisco events were in touch with Victoria officials and things began to happen.<sup>43</sup> At one of the April Negro mass meetings in San Francisco the audience was informed that they would be welcome in Victoria and that there was employment and land.<sup>44</sup>

The result was an exodus of several hundred California Negroes led by a number of leaders of the convention movement, including the author of the previous statement, Mifflin Wistar Gibbs.<sup>45</sup> The convention movement lost another leader in Peter Lester who was Gibbs' business partner. He is the same man who was beaten while they were being robbed and could get no justice because of the testimony laws. Lester had his own special grief during the weeks before he decided to join his partner in the Victoria migration. His daughter, who was apparently very light-skinned, was accepted into an all-white public school after examination by the board of education in San Francisco. This was found offensive to some school officials, and an agonizing debate resulted. The board resolved its problem at the expense of Peter Lester's daughter. This was too much for the Lester family, and they headed for Victoria. There were other parents with daughters like Lester's who had also applied to the white schools. Some of them too must have joined the Victoria exodus.<sup>46</sup> Most of the group settled in Victoria, but some went to the gold fields of British Columbia. For many this was a vast improvement in their situation. The Negro community of Victoria might have been much larger today if it had not been for the developments of the Civil War just a few years later. Like most of the American Negroes who fled to Canada in the 1840's and

1850's, the Victoria Negro community returned in great numbers to their native land. Gibbs, who became an elective official in Victoria, returned to the United States and received recognition for his abilities in the postwar period. Among his official positions was the post of municipal judge of Little Rock, Arkansas.<sup>47</sup>

With the departure of the contingent to Victoria in 1858, the convention movement seemed to fall into spiritual and organizational doldrums. There was no convention that year, and frustration produced accentuated internal bickering. Defeat was in the air notwithstanding that the anti-immigration legislation never became law. An effort at independent Negro journalism had just expired in spite of great sacrifices by its editor. In November, 1858, the executive committee of the convention movement issued a report in which it announced that after much thought it had decided not to call for another testimony petition until there was a change of political administration in California.<sup>48</sup> This, of course, could only mean that the Negro felt that his fortunes lay with an eventual Republican victory. It is interesting to note that in this mood of depression Negro leadership turned faintly to recourses suggested more forcefully nearly forty years later when the American Negro was experiencing the bitter fruits of home rule in the South. Foreshadowing Booker T. Washington, the executive committee report advised that

Pecuniary prominence, in a country so diversified as this, takes precedence over intellectual, and it should be our highest aim to seek the end we have marked out, through that mode which has formed a superiority. . . .<sup>49</sup>

But the report does not call for surrender. It agrees to conduct another petition campaign if the California Negro community responds with sufficient vigor and funds.<sup>50</sup> This does not seem to have been the case before 1860.

The fortunes of the California Negro began to rise with the opening of the next decade. The cause of the convention movement was assisted tremendously by national developments as well as human factors. 1860 saw the arrival in California of the Reverend Thomas Starr King, who gave Negro causes as well as other causes a great deal of support. In the same year one of the major figures in Negro journalism came to California, and a Negro press was soon born again on the West



Coast: Peter Bell had been associated with the Negro press in the East since its beginnings in the 1830's and was a very sophisticated and worldly journalist.<sup>51</sup>

Bell was a fine addition to the leadership group in the California convention movement. While the exodus to Victoria had resulted in the loss of Gibbs and Lester, the leadership of the 1850's had at all times contained an unusual group of men. Gibbs had worked with Frederick Douglass in the antislavery movement in the East.<sup>52</sup> William H. Yates, who was the president of the first California Colored Convention and was associated with all the subsequent conventions, bought his own freedom in Washington, D.C., as a young man. Becoming a porter in the United States Supreme Court, he experienced an unusual intellectual exposure. When he moved to New York, he became a Mason and was an active anticolonizationist. He came to California in 1851 and became an employee of the California Steamship Navigation Company. As a chief steward he plied the waters of San Francisco Bay and was undoubtedly able to function as a unifying agent in the convention movement.<sup>53</sup>

William H. Hall, who was president of the Second Colored Convention, had an equally interesting career before coming to California. In Washington, D.C., he was the fund raiser for a monument for Benjamin Banneker. In New York he too became a Mason and was active in that state in the campaign for Negro suffrage in the 1840's.<sup>54</sup> Abner Francis was a correspondent of Fred Douglass as were others in the convention movement.<sup>55</sup> William Newby had also been a western contributor to Frederick Douglass' paper. He was one of the founders of the first California Negro paper, *The Mirror of the Times*. His ability was recognized by the French government, and he was asked in 1858 to be the private secretary to the French Consul General in Haiti.<sup>56</sup> New Bedford-born Jeremiah B. Sanderson was on the same platform with Frederick Douglass when the latter was discovered by William Lloyd Garrison.<sup>57</sup> Most, if not all, of the printed proceedings of the California Colored Conventions are in his handwriting. William Wells Brown's *The Black Man*, published during the Civil War, which was a review of distinguished Negroes in America included Sanderson as the only Western Negro.<sup>58</sup> Sanderson had worked with Douglass as well as with the Eastern Negro leaders, Brown and William C. Nell.<sup>59</sup> His great



competence made him the foremost Negro teacher in California. He was the most indefatigable worker in organizing schools for Negro children and gained begrudging financial support from boards of education.

Most of these men were born free or had achieved freedom at an early age back East. There were many who were active in the California convention movement who did not attain the prominence of the aforementioned but were of its flesh and bone. A most interesting group are those whose early years in California were absorbed with the back-breaking business of buying themselves and their families out of slavery in the East and paying for their passage to California. They should also be remembered.

In 1863 the State Legislature of California revised the testimony laws, and the Negro was, at last, relieved of this disability. The previous year had seen the defeat of many opponents of Negro testimony, and the assemblymen who tried to reform the law in 1862 were now successful.<sup>60</sup> By the time of the Fourth Colored Convention in 1865, Negro leadership was turning itself to the problems of education and suffrage.<sup>61</sup>

When victory had at last been gained in the matter of testimony, Peter Bell, now the editor of the Negro paper, *The Pacific Appeal*, wrote:

we should be more guarded than ever against committing any acts that might be construed by the enemies of our advancement, as a consequence of the repeal of those unjust laws . . . . We should be patient and conciliating. . . .

And then he added with a remarkable quality of objectivity:

we must not always suppose that every offense that may be committed against us is altogether in consequence of our color.<sup>62</sup>

Early in 1864, editor Bell felt optimistic and wrote:

A new era has already dawned and it is with yourselves to decide as to whether you or your children shall be made capable of assuming the responsible positions which already await you. The Federal Government and the good and intelligent among the American people, are endeavoring to help you.<sup>63</sup>

Peter Bell had no way of knowing in 1864 that many generations of white Americans were yet to come who would try to freeze the Negro in his subordinate position in American life by telling him that he was trying to move too fast.

## NOTES

1. *Compendium, Ninth Census*, p. 29.

2. *Daily Alta*, May 29, 1850.

3. *Ibid*, February 16, 1850.

4. *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole*, p. 94.

In his *Memoirs*, Cole refers to an "Andy Slave Case." He does not date this case precisely and in all its particulars it is the historic Perkins Case. With the passage of time, Cole must have forgotten about the actual names and number of the defendants in this case who were Robert and Carter Perkins and Sandy Jones. It is my belief that Cole forgot the Perkinses and Sandy became "Andy" with passage of time. He also forgot that Joseph Winans and Joseph Zabriskie were associated with him as lawyers in this case. (See footnote 10.) Cole's biographer repeated this error in her work. (Catherine Coffin Phillips, *Cornelius Cole*, pp. 53-54.

5. *Daily Alta*, May 29, 1850; Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California*, p. 449.

6. *Daily Alta*, March 31, 1851; *California Courier*, March 31, 1851; *The Herald*, April 1, 1851.

7. *Journal of the Assembly, Third Session*, pp. 95, 146, 147; *Journal of the Senate, Third Session*, pp. 257-85; *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 6, April 9, 1852.

8. *Daily Alta*, April 20, 1853.

9. Clyde A. Duniway, *Slavery in California after 1848; Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1906; *Daily Alta*, April 18, 1858.

10. *California Reports*, 1852, pp. 424-59; *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 3, 9, 1852; *Statutes of California, Fifth*, 1854, p. 30.

11. Thomas J. Oxley to his brother, June 18, 1856, Oxley Papers, Bancroft Library; M. C. Briggs to R. C. Burr, April 16, 1855, Briggs Papers, Bancroft Library; Clifford Drury, *San Francisco Y.M.C.A.*, p. 36.

12. Ruth Fry Axe (ed.), *Bound for Sacramento*, p. 144.

13. *Pacific Appeal*, May 8, 30, 1863.

14. *Proceedings of the First State Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of California*, 1855, p. 12. In a Report of the Convention printed in *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 21, 1855, a more modest but no less impressive statistical report is given of \$2,375,000. The *Proceedings* report, p. 18, gives the figure of \$2,413,000.

15. Delilah Beasley, *Negro Trail Blazers of California*, p. 54; Mitflin Wistar Gibbs, *Shadow and Light*, p. 46.

16. *Assembly Journal, Third Session*, p. 395; *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 23, 1852; *Daily Alta*, March 14, 1853.

17. *Assembly Journal, Fourth Session*, pp. 259-61; *Daily Alta*, March 13, 1853; *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 15, 1853.

18. Leon Litwak, *North of Slavery*, p. 93.

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19. *Senate Journal, Seventh Session*, pp. 488, 496, 559; *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 10, 1856.
20. Dorothy Huggins (compiler), *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco*, p. 73.
21. *Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Colored People of the State of California*, 1856, p. 9.
22. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 21, 1857.
23. *Senate Journal, Eighth Session*, pp. 285, 294, 337.
24. *Evening Bulletin*, August 24, 26, 1858.
25. *Ibid*, November 3, 1858.
26. *Ibid*, December 9, 1858.
27. *Address of the State Executive Committee to the Colored People of the State of California 1859, passim; Appeal*, April 12, 1862.
28. *Address*, p. 10; *Evening Bulletin*, February 19, 1858.
29. *Evening Bulletin*, February 4, 1858.
30. *Ex Parte Archy*, 9 Cal. 147.
31. Lucille Eaves, *A History of California Labor Legislation*, pp. 99-103. This is the best condensed report of this case.
32. *Daily Alta*, April 22, 1858.
33. *Assembly Journal, Third Session*, p. 71.
34. *Ibid. Eighth Session*, pp. 741, 811, 812, 823-24.
35. *Evening Bulletin*, April 27, 1858.
36. *Assembly Journal, Ninth Session*, pp. 342, 408, 444-45, 447, 462, 489-500, 523.
37. *Senate Journal, Ninth Session*, pp. 661, 663-64.
38. *Evening Bulletin*, April 8, 23, 27, 1858.
39. *Ibid*, April 2, 5, 1858; *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 26, 29, 1858.
40. *Evening Bulletin*, April 2, 1858.
41. *Ibid*, April 5, 1858.
42. *Daily Alta*, April 20, 1858.
43. James W. Pilton, "Negro Settlement in British Columbia" (University of British Columbia, unpublished master's thesis, 1951), p. 4.
44. *Evening Bulletin*, May 13, 17, 1858.
45. Gibbs, *Shadow*, p. 62.
46. *Evening Bulletin*, February 18, 24, March 31, 1858; *Daily Alta*, April 5, 1858.
47. Gibbs, *Shadow*, p. 136.
48. *Address*, pp. 11, 12.
49. *Ibid*, p. 15.
50. *Ibid*, pp. 16, 17.
51. Irvine Penn, *The Afro-American Press*, pp. 85-99.
52. Gibbs, *Shadow*, p. 32.
53. *Appeal*, August 1, 1863.

54. *Ibid*, August 29, 1863.
55. *Ibid*, July 4, 1863.
56. *Ibid*, June 20, 1863.
57. Parker Pillsbury, *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles*, p. 326; The granddaughter of Sanderson has placed in my possession correspondence between her grand-father, William C. Nell and William Wells Brown.
58. William Wells Brown, *The Black Man*, p. 91.
59. Carter Woodson, *The Mind of the Negro as Revealed in his Letters*, 1800-1860, pp. 350, 384-85.
60. *Assembly Journal*, *Thirteenth Session*, pp. 259, 404, 670; *Statutes of California*, 1863, p. 69; *Appeal*, September 13, 1862.
61. *Proceedings of the California State Convention of Colored Citizens*, *passim*.
62. *Appeal*, March 21, 1863.
63. *Ibid*, February 6, 1864.



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# Los Alamitos: The Indian and Rancho Phases

By W. W. ROBINSON

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THE LAST UNSUBDIVIDED piece of historic Rancho Los Alamitos is a seven-and-a-half acre parcel left in trust to the children of the rancho's last owner, Fred H. Bixby. Lying within the city limits of Long Beach, California, it includes one of the state's most charming houses dating from Spanish days, as well as surrounding gardens that delight the eye.

This small area has at least two claims to fame. It is the site of an important Indian village, perhaps the most important in Southern California. Also, it is part of a former twenty-eight thousand-acre Mexican rancho which, in turn, was part of an earlier and much larger Spanish rancho—the so-called 'Los Nietos Grant.' Thus it symbolizes California's rancho days.

This paper is a discussion of the two phases: the Indian and the rancho.

Anyone who has walked recently over the grounds of this fascinating bit of land, especially over the far edge of the tennis court, or who has looked down over the slope beyond, will have noticed the telltale marks of an ancient Indian village: the vast litter of blackened shells partly buried, partly lying loose. This is the kitchen midden or garbage heap of the village of Pubuna—sometimes called Pubugna or Puvu or Puvungna. It was a community of Shoshonean-speaking Indians, one village among the many that dotted the landscape of the Los Angeles and Orange County areas when the first white men made their appearance in California's interior in the year 1769.

Pubuna was no doubt a counterpart of another Indian, coastal village—Suanga (or Suangna)—located in the Wilmington-San Pedro area,

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overlooking the Inner Bay. Pubuna, like Suanga, was extensive in area. Its villagers were fishermen. They definitely were eaters of shellfish, clams, scallops, and abalones (when they could get them), the shells of which were tossed to form Rancho Los Alamitos' interesting kitchen midden. Like their neighbors to the north, the men of Pubuna may have had pine-plank canoes which could be propelled swiftly to Catalina Island where, by trade, they could obtain the much-prized and amenable steatite or soapstone.

Complete excavation of this kitchen midden by knowledgeable archeologists might determine the age of Pubuna. Unfortunately this has not been done.

Something is known, however, of the antiquity of the members of the Shoshonean speech-family who in prehistoric, but not remote, times began to drift into Southern California from Owens Valley, Nevada, and Utah. Legend has them coming first through El Cajon Pass. Anthropologist A. L. Kroeber hazards a conservative guess that the initial wave of Shoshoneans reached the Southern California coast fifteen hundred years ago, driving a wedge between the Indian people who preceded them.<sup>1</sup> Language differences between the Indians of the Santa Barbara and the San Diego areas, these people being of the same Hokan linguistic group, are the basis for this estimate. Hundreds of years before the first Spanish sailed the California coast in the sixteenth century the pattern of Shoshonean occupancy in the counties of Los Angeles, Orange, and parts of San Bernardino and Riverside had been established. The discovery in an Indian site at Big Tujunga Wash, in Los Angeles County, of Hohokam pottery fragments from Arizona dating from the seventh, eighth, or ninth century A.D. is of significance. According to Bernice Eastman Johnston, an authority on the Gabrielino group of the Shoshoneans, this "indicates contact, possibly through the Mohave Indians who were enterprising traders, and provides a date to show that by the time this item reached them the coastal Shoshoneans were well established, with a definite culture based on long occupancy."<sup>2</sup>

The village of Pubuna, close by the sea and growing up around springs that flowed until recent years was not just one more Indian community. It was the legendary birthplace—or place of first appearance—of the leader, the prophet, the Christ, the god, who bore the religious or ceremonial name of Chinigchinich. The leader's teachings

spread over much of Southern California. While San Gabriel Mission was baptizing Indians from Pubuna, the ceremonies, the beliefs, and the creation stories—part of an intricate mythology that had centered in the Alamitos village—were being accepted by Indians as far north as the San Joaquin Valley, as far east as the area of the mountain Cahuillas, and south of Mission San Juan Capistrano.

Fortunately, Mission San Juan Capistrano had a knowledgeable Franciscan priest who served as a missionary there from 1814 to 1826. Father Gerónimo Boscana during that period gathered and wrote down the beliefs, customs, and traditions of the Indians to whom he ministered. These Indians, originating in the Los Nietos area of Los Angeles County, had brought with them their own beliefs, customs, and traditions—the Pubuna variety. Father Boscana's account was later translated by Alfred Robinson and published in 1846 in New York. Many decades later, in 1933, a revised version was made available by the Fine Arts Press of Santa Ana. It was heavily annotated by Dr. John P. Harrington of the American Bureau of Ethnology, a man who had an uncanny ability to interpret myths, solve the mysteries of language, and pinpoint the significance of the stories of ancient or of surviving Southern California Indians.<sup>3</sup>

Father Boscana, telling of the first appearance of the great leader in this Alamitos village, wrote:

This was the god, Chinigchinich, so feared, venerated, and respected by the Indians, who taught first in the town of Pubuna, and afterwards in all the neighboring parts, explaining the laws and establishing the rites and ceremonies necessary to the preservation of life.<sup>4</sup>

Centering in this town of Pubuna were the stories of the creation of the world, the development of people from animals, and the growth of consciousness. This village was the legendary scene of the assemblies of many people.

An important ritual in this religion had to do with the drinking from a ceremonial mortar, by eligible young men, of a liquid made from the root of the jimson weed. This caused the drinker to fall into a stupor, a long sleep, in which he had visions, particularly of animals, that were to be of great significance to him throughout his life. So important was this use of the jimson weed in Southern California that the religion itself is often referred to by anthropologists as the jimson-weed cult.<sup>5</sup>

Father Boscana quoted Chinigchinich as saying to his people:

Whence I die I shall ascend above, to the stars, and from thence, I shall always see you. To those who have kept my commandments, I shall give all they ask of me; but those who obey not my teachings, nor believe them, I shall punish severely. I will send unto them bears to bite, and serpents to sting them.<sup>6</sup>

Chinigchinich died, and one legend has it that he was cremated in the village of Pubuna.<sup>7</sup>

An excellent summary of the story of the Indians of this area and their customs and beliefs is contained in Bernice Eastman Johnston's *California's Gabrielino Indians*, previously referred to.

Switching from the Indian phase of Los Alamitos and from the world of the mysterious dead, I take up the rancho phase. This permits me to stand on firmer ground and to discuss briefly a way of life that has provable facts and dates.

Veterans of the Spanish army of occupation became the first white owners of rancho land in California—if we except the King of Spain himself. Three retirement-minded soldiers, experienced “leather jackets,” stationed at the Presidio of San Diego in 1784, led the way. They got permission from Governor Pedro Fages, their military commander, to put cattle on land of their own choosing. The governor had authority under the Laws of the Indies to allow settlements by individuals of tracts of land outside pueblo and presidio boundaries. (Fages, somewhat uncertain of his powers, asked for and got a legal opinion backing his acts—though the opinion did not reach him until 1786.) The first of the three veterans was named Domínguez, and Domínguez drove a herd of horses and two hundred cattle to what came to be called Rancho San Pedro, lying entirely within present-day Los Angeles County. The second was Verdugo, and he selected a huge, triangular area that today is occupied by Glendale and part of Burbank. The third—our man—was Manuel Pérez Nieto, who came originally from La Villa de Sinaloa in Mexico. The land he finally occupied under the concession given him on October 21, 1784—interpreted broadly—included not only Rancho Los Alamitos but all the coastal land between Rancho San Pedro and the Santa Ana River, land lying seaward of the old road that ran between the Pueblo of Los Angeles and Mission San Juan Capistrano.<sup>8</sup>

The record of Nieto's petition and the governor's reply is a part of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Nieto, calling attention to



the fact that he had an increasing number of horses and cattle and no place to graze them, said in his petition:

I request Your Worship's charity that you be pleased to assign me a place situated at least three leagues distance from the Mission San Gabriel along the road to the Royal Presidio of San Carlos de Monterey named La Sanja, contemplating Sir, not to harm neither a living soul, principally the Mission of San Gabriel, nor even less the Pueblo of the Queen of Angeles . . . .

The governor's reply was, in effect, *yes*, attached military fashion as a short note to the petition—a typical grant or concession of Spanish days, no royal signature, no ribbons, no flourishes. Here it is:

San Gabriel, October 21, 1784

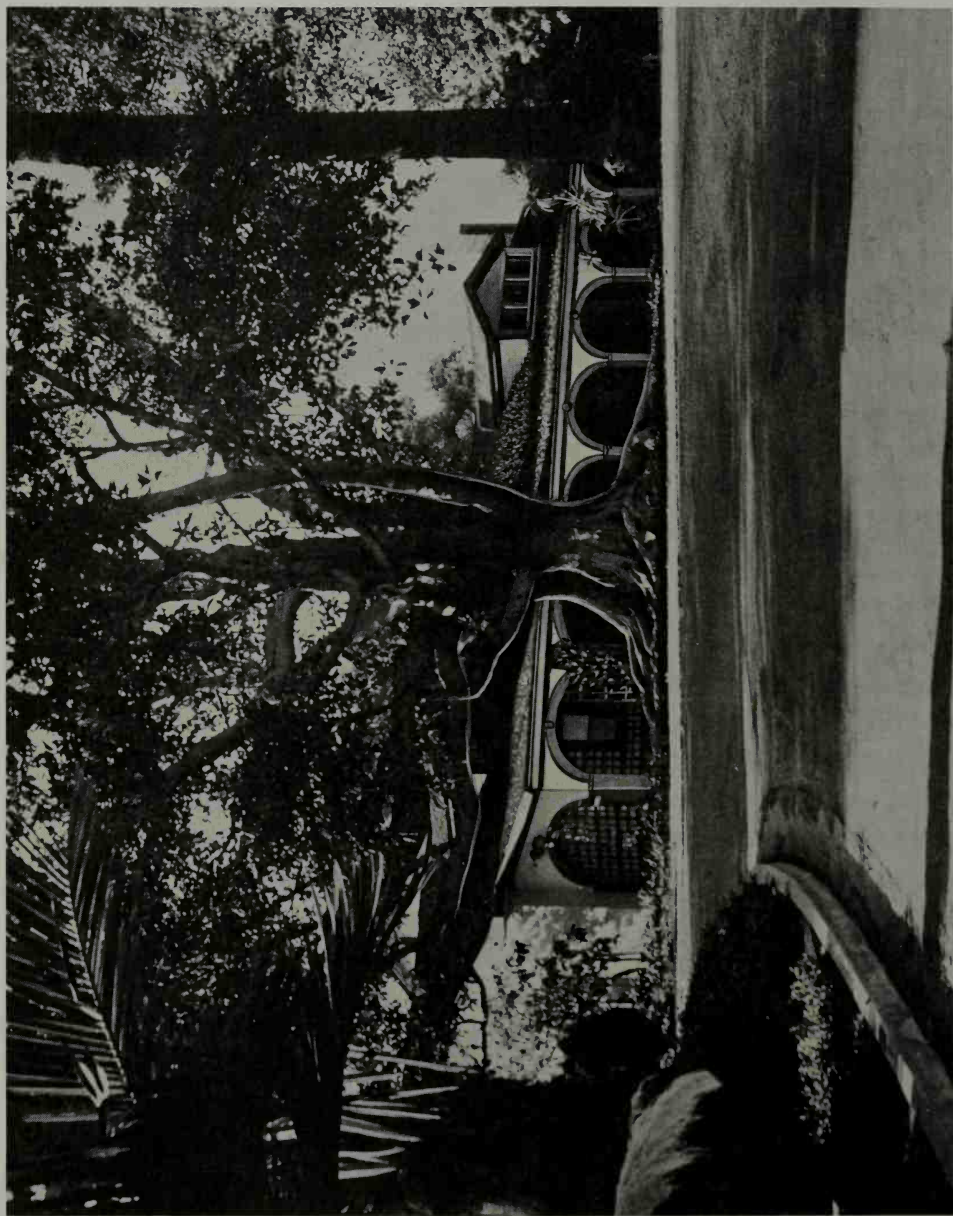
I grant the petitioner the permission of having the bovine stock and horses at the place of La Sanja, or its environs; provided no harm is done to the Mission San Gabriel nor to the Pagan Indians of its environs in any manner whatsoever; and that he must have some one to watch it, and to go and sleep at the aforementioned Pueblo.

Pedro Fages<sup>9</sup>

Driving his stock ahead of him, Manuel Nieto—described then as an “old man”—left San Diego and settled down first, apparently in the San Gabriel Valley. (La Sanja, or La Zanja, is interpreted by Robert Glass Cleland as “La Zanja del Puente.”<sup>10</sup>) The priests of San Gabriel looked with disfavor, however, on this newcomer who took over land belonging, they said, to the neophytes and actually under Mission supervision. Nieto was forced to make several moves, meanwhile complaining bitterly to the governor. One move, in the place of “the oaks,” might well have been Santa Anita.<sup>11</sup>

At least by 1790, however, he settled permanently in a fertile land southwest of the present city of Whittier. Today it is called Los Nietos. Nieto there built himself a square-shaped adobe hut. Many years later it became Lemuel Carpenter's home and ultimately it was destroyed in the floods of 1867. Nieto planted wheat and corn and persuaded settlers from El Pueblo to join him.<sup>12</sup> The area about his home became a supply center for Los Angeles, with produce hauled to market in ox-drawn carretas.<sup>13</sup>

Before 1800 Manuel Nieto had extended his cattle operations throughout a vast area. His herds of cattle, numbered in the thousands,



*Courtesy of Katharine Bixby Hotchkis*  
Rancho Los Alamitos Adobe in 1960. Originally Built about 1806.

grazed an immense grass-covered plain that stretched on the south to the bluffs overlooking the Pacific Ocean. They ranged southeast through deep grass to the Santa Ana River. The rear boundary of Nieto's land was the old road—Camino Viejo—which followed in part present-day Whittier Boulevard. On the northwest Nieto cattle wandered to the San Gabriel River which then occupied the bed later to be taken over by the Los Angeles River. There they got mixed up with the cattle of Juan José Domínguez, Nieto's old army buddy—resulting in a dispute over four thousand cattle, horses, mules, and burros. Knowledge of this dispute, beginning in 1797, comes from documents that were salvaged from public archives in San Diego which at the time of their discovery were being used by soldiers to make their cigaret cartridges.<sup>14</sup>

This immense area, about one hundred and sixty seven thousand acres, was Manuel Nieto's through undisputed possession and through the elastic language contained in the grant or concession from Governor Fages.

When Manuel Nieto died in 1804 his widow and his children stayed on the ranch as owners of undivided interests. Presently they divided their inheritance into five ranchos—with a son, Juan José Nieto, receiving the twenty-eight thousand-acre Rancho Los Alamitos. The Mexican Government recognized the division and, through Governor Figueroa, issued in the year 1834 five grants, one for each rancho.<sup>15</sup>

At a very early date Juan José Nieto took over in Los Alamitos—so named from the little cottonwoods that grew about the springs. He built an adobe home, the genesis of the handsome home that stands there today. It could have been in the year 1806, for José Antonio Carrillo recalled visiting it in 1807. Carrillo so testified many years later before the United States Land Commission.<sup>16</sup>

For some undisclosed reason Juan José Nieto sold Rancho Los Alamitos to Governor Figueroa on June 30, 1834. The selling price was \$500—less than two cents an acre. Why did the governor buy it? The records are silent, but possibly Figueroa knew a good buy when he heard about it. Possibly—and this is my personal belief—Alamitos was his reward for acquiescence in the rancho division. At any rate he put a superintendent in charge and continued to live in Monterey. When the governor died fifteen months later, Figueroa's brother and sole heir,

Francisco, came to Los Alamitos and stayed with the superintendent until the rancho could be sold in the administration of the estate.

The buyer at the Figueroa estate sale was a shrewd Yankee from Salem, Massachusetts, Abel Stearns, who had come to Los Angeles first in 1829. This purchase of Rancho Los Alamitos and its livestock in 1842 for approximately \$6000 was the foundation of his future land empire and his great fortune. The inventory of the ranch indicated that many repairs on the adobe buildings were needed by the buyer, especially since Rancho Los Alamitos was to become a pleasant summer home for Stearns' young wife, the lovely Arcadia Bandini. Stearns had married her when he was a weather-beaten bachelor of forty-three and she a girl of fourteen. Because of the difference in ages, Abel Stearns had suffered a lot of kidding from his friends. He tried to lop off a few years from his age and to keep the banns from being published. His own vaqueros had composed a song for the wedding, according to Susanna Bryant Dakin. Here it is:

Two little doves sang in a laurel,  
How lovely Doña Arcadia,  
How homely Don Abel!<sup>17</sup>

Shortly after Stearns acquired Los Alamitos he also acquired a new neighbor, another Yankee, John Temple, who bought the adjoining Rancho Los Cerritos. Each rancho held rodeos and barbecues. Annually there was horse-racing between the two establishments, the race course being from El Cerrito (Signal Hill) straight to the beach.

California became a part of the United States in 1848 and was admitted as a state in 1850, with the titles to both ranchos ultimately upheld by the Board of Land Commissioners and the United States District Court. The government survey established the acreage of Los Alamitos to be 28,027.17 acres, while that of Los Cerritos was slightly less.

The drought of the 1860's—caused by three rainless years, beginning in 1862—brought disaster to Los Alamitos and to Los Cerritos, and the death of thousands of cattle. Stearns was foreclosed and Temple had to sell. A San Francisco money-lender named Michael Reese foreclosed the mortgage which Stearns had put on Los Alamitos to complete the building of his Arcadia Block in Los Angeles. Meanwhile Los Cerritos had been purchased by four successful landowners and sheepmen from the northern part of the state who had come to California from Maine



during the gold fever. They were typical of many northern Californians who came south at this time to pick up bargains in ranchos. The new owners of Los Cerritos were Benjamin and Thomas Flint and Lewellyn and Jotham Bixby. (Read Sarah Bixby's *Adobe Days* for a pleasant picture of life at Los Cerritos.)

John W. Bixby, a cousin of Jotham Bixby, came to California from Maine in 1870. In 1878 he leased a portion of Los Alamitos. He and his wife (Susanna Patterson Hathaway) and their small son Fred moved into the old ranch house. With their coming the name of Bixby was associated with Alamitos. Before the ten-year lease ran out, the whole rancho was purchased from the heirs of Michael Reese. That was in 1881. Jotham Bixby and I. W. Hellman shared with John W. Bixby in the purchase.

The first step on moving in had been to put the old adobe buildings in livable condition. They had been neglected since the days of Arcadia Bandini de Stearns. Little by little changes were made in the structures and in their setting.

The granddaughter of John W. Bixby, Katharine Bixby Hotchkis, has written delightfully of Los Alamitos. Of this rehabilitation period she said:

Grandfather, besides being a rancher, was also a carpenter. He nailed pieces of tin over the ratholes, fixed the roof, put wooden floors in every room. He built a big wardrobe, with carved decorations for their bedroom and two tall china cabinets for the dining room. Over in San Pedro he bought an abandoned warehouse, took it to pieces and with teams of draft horses dragged it back to the ranch. There he put it together and made a huge barn out of it. Grandmother planted yellow roses that climbed over the porch, lots of fuchsias, and out in front some tiny trees that grew to be enormous landmarks.<sup>18</sup>

Sarah Bixby Smith was a frequent visitor to Los Alamitos. "This place is alive," she said: "Each time I go back I find some new thing, now a garden, now a modern heating plant." It gradually became "one of California's most charming houses."<sup>19</sup>

When John W. Bixby died in 1887, from an attack of appendicitis, his widow leased Los Alamitos. Fred was sent to a military school. In 1906, however, the Bixbys came back. Fred H. Bixby and his young family moved into the home of his boyhood and he became *El Patrón* of the rancho.

Rancho days continued. Los Alamitos had originally been a cattle ranch. Then it became partly a sheep ranch. Under Fred H. Bixby's ownership and direction, Los Alamitos became a successful stock ranch, though greatly reduced in size through partition, condemnation, and subdivision. Actually rancho days continued until the death in 1952 of Fred H. Bixby. The death of his widow—Florence Green Bixby—in 1961 brought an era to an end. Today Rancho Los Alamitos' seven-and-a-half acres form a tranquil island in a busy land.<sup>20</sup>

## NOTES

1. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, pp. 578, 579.
2. Johnston, *California's Gabrielino Indians*, pp. 4, 5.
3. Boscana, *Chinigchinich*, in the revised and annotated version of Alfred Robinson's translation, pp. 101-255—this section covering the results of Dr. Harrington's extensive research.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 33.
5. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 574-708; also consult references in Classified Subject Index under topic of "Jimson weed cult."
6. Boscana, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 124 (Chinigchinich being referred to here under his natal name which is given variously as Wuyoot or Wiyaamot, or Ouiamot).
8. W. W. Robinson, *Land in California*, pp. 45-58.
9. *Ibid.*, 48, 49.
10. Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, 1941 edition, p. 9 (note 14).
11. George Tays (translator), *English Translations of Spanish Documents From National Archives*, two bound, typescript volumes in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
12. W. W. Robinson, *Ranchos Become Cities*, p. 64.
13. W. W. Robinson and Lawrence Clark Powell, *The Malibu*, pp. 7, 8.
14. Abstract of Title of San Pedro Rancho made in 1891 by Grove & Wilkinson, Searchers of Records, pp. 155-162 of Volume I (in possession of W. W. Robinson).
15. Cleland, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12.
16. Robinson, *Ranchos Become Cities*, pp. 50-55, being a brief coverage of the title facts disclosed by United States Land Commission, United States District Court, and Los Angeles County Recorder's records.
17. Susanna Bryant Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano*, pp. 76-78.
18. Hotchkis, *Christmas At Rancho Los Alamitos* (pages unnumbered).
19. Sarah Bixby Smith, *Adobe Days*, 1931 edition, pp. 60, 61.
20. Katharine Bixby Hotchkis, *Rancho Los Alamitos* (personal and family history, full of delightful anecdotes, completed in 1964).

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# Pictures from Yosemite's Past

## Galen Clark's Photograph Album

By SHIRLEY SARGENT

*Photographic copy work by MARY V. AND A. W. HOOD*

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IN RESEARCHING THE life of Galen Clark, Yosemite pioneer, explorer, homesteader, guardian, and interpreter, for a biography,<sup>1</sup> a brown leather photograph album in the Yosemite Museum vault received attention far beyond its mentions in the completed text. So many of the photographs in its fifty pages were of people significant to history, especially in the 1860's and '70's, that the author and Mary V. Hood, another Yosemite historian, indexed it.

The album is 5½ by 6 by 2½ inches, bound in fine, brown leather, with gilt lettering on the front cover, "Galen Clark, April 20, 1866." On the inside of the fly leaf, a hand-printed inscription reads, "Presented to Galen Clark by the party of April 20, 1866 as a token of gratitude for his kindness to them, on their journey to the Yo Semite."

Each thick page has two inserts and the first six pages are filled with pictures of the twelve-member Burlingame party of April, 1866, donors of the book, and people of note. In 1868, diplomat Burlingame was to become famous for negotiating the treaty with China in which that country first accepted the principles of international law.<sup>2</sup> Another prominent member of the group was Robert Bruce Van Valkenburg, then minister to Japan, and formerly a New York Congressman and commanding officer at the Civil War Battle of Antietam.<sup>3</sup>

They had reason to be grateful to Clark and his three assistants as their April 23 trip was the earliest ever attempted to the valley. No one had been over the twenty five-mile trail since the preceding September,

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SHIRLEY SARGENT, a contributor to *Westways* and an authority on Yosemite, has recently published her excellent study, *Galen Clark, Yosemite Guardian*.

and for five-and-one-half hours they had to flounder through snow drifts sometimes seven feet deep. The *Mariposa Gazette* for May 12, 1866, reported that

It was impossible to ride on this part of the route, and the appearance of the procession as it dragged its slow length along, is described as ludicrous in the extreme, though the excursionists found the travel anything but amusing.

Besides encouraging and guiding the uncomfortable party, which included Mrs. Burlingame and the two Burlingame sons, Clark had to help his assistants care for the horses and pack mules.

Nor did the album presentation end the Burlingames' part in its history. Many years later, a family member recognized it in a Massachusetts bookstore, bought it, and eventually mailed it to Neville D. Chamberlain, a Mariposa County historian who, in turn, presented it to the Yosemite Museum.<sup>4</sup> Presumably, Clark had sent the book to one of his family on the East Coast and, by some odd chance, it left their hands.

On page 10 "A. Lincoln" is inserted. Clark had two sons in the Civil War under Lincoln, one of whom was killed during the August, 1862, Second Battle of Bull Run.<sup>5</sup> Clark's sympathies were definitely with the Union, though his dead wife's family, the McCoys, were for the Confederacy. Generals William T. Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan illustrate Clark's patriotism in pictures on page 13. Sheridan visited the valley in 1875, and Sherman in 1882; undoubtedly both met Clark and gave him their photographs.<sup>6</sup>

Another Civil War personality, pictured on page 8, Dr. Henry W. Bellows, was chairman of the Sanitary Commission, an organization set up to care for sick and wounded Union soldiers. In June of 1864 Bellows visited Clark's Station and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees. A sudden thunderstorm sent his party into the shelter of a small log cabin that Clark had built the previous month. Immediately, Bellows named it "Galen's Hospice."<sup>7</sup> Though the hospice disappeared years ago, today's visitors to the grove find shelter and information in the log museum standing on the same site.

Although Clark's Station, at present-day Wawona in Yosemite National Park, kept no hotel register or guest book that has survived, the weekly *Mariposa Gazette* often published lists of arrivals in Yosemite Valley which aid the historian.<sup>8</sup> From Mariposa, most early tourists traveled twenty five miles to Clark's Station, which was a logical over-



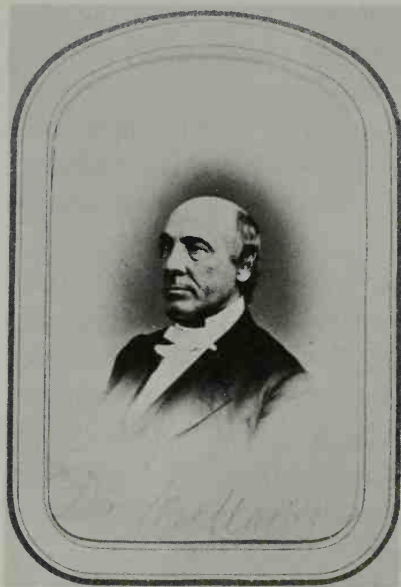
night stop. From there, many of them rode horseback to view the giant sequoias in the Mariposa Grove, eight miles away, returned to Clark's and the following day rode on to Yosemite Valley. Because of his position as hotelkeeper and guardian and his freely given and eloquent guiding, travelers thought highly of him. Some, like Charles Loring Brace, Thomas Starr King, John Muir and Jessie Frémont, wrote admiringly of him in books.

Like many of his guests, Clark, too, was important. From April, 1866, until 1880, and again from 1889 to 1896, he capably filled the appointive post of state guardian of the scenic, invaluable Yosemite Grant. Besides being a mine of information on anything pertaining to Yosemite, he was a gentleman, intelligent, well-read, hospitable, and generous to a fault that eventually bankrupted his hotel. No wonder distinguished people gave him their pictures, often, perhaps, in exchange for his own likeness.

Matching faces with documented fact led to this article. For instance, the new Almadén Quicksilver mine, near San Jose, was famous for its riches, legal involvements, and importance to the Union during the Civil War. To Samuel F. Butterworth, new president of the mine, went the difficult task of seizing it for the United States government in May, 1863.<sup>9</sup> By October, 1865, J. Ross Browne reported in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* that Butterworth had effected "beneficial change" in his control of the mine. According to the *Gazette*, Butterworth and his daughter were in Yosemite Valley on July 6, 1866, indicating a previous stay at Clark's. As evidence of his respect for his host, Butterworth's picture is on page 19 of Clark's album.

An 1865 group picture on page 12 holds special import as it is of Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House for the United States Congress; former Lieutenant Governor William Bross of Illinois; and two well-known journalists of that day, Albert D. Richardson of the *New York Tribune* and Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican* in Massachusetts. Colfax was leading these men and others on a notable exploratory trip of the United States not without political intentions, from which two books evolved: Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi* and Bowles' *Our New West*. Both mentioned Clark kindly, and an autographed copy of the latter work was given to him.<sup>10</sup>

After their visit Clark must have followed their careers with great



Dr. Henry W. Bellows



Samuel F. Butterworth



Schuyler Colfax



Schuyler Colfax and friends



Frederick Law Olmsted



James A. Bondurant



Henry N. Bolander



Sarranus C. Hastings



Dr. John T. Torrey



Dr. Samuel Kneeland



Clarence King



Charles Warren Stoddard





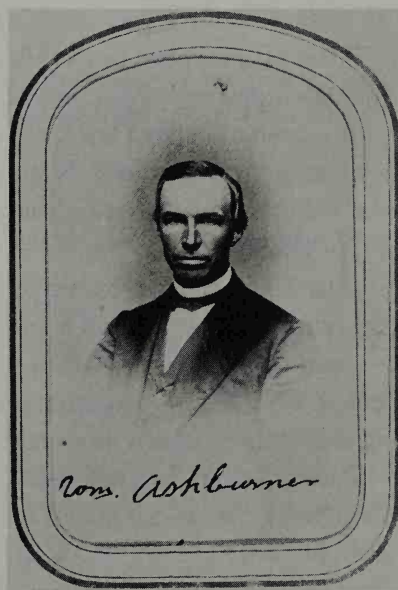
Sentinel Dome



Hutchings' Hotel



Alonzo Clark



William Ashburner

interest. Perhaps he even voted for Colfax when he was elected Vice-President in 1869 under U. S. Grant.

Noted Californians are well-represented. Fredrick Law Olmsted, superintendent of the Frémont Grant, and William Ashburner, mining engineer, were both on the original 1864-appointed board of Yosemite commissioners along with Clark and five others. Their pictures are in the album as is that of Judge James A. Bondurant of Mariposa; Henry N. Bolander, California's superintendent for public instruction 1871-75; and Judge Sarranus Clinton Hastings, who founded Hastings Law School. Not only is the judge present, but his wife and four children as well. On pages 8, 28, and 39 are Dr. John T. Torrey, botanist; Clarence King, geologist; and Dr. Samuel Kneeland, a Boston physician. Torrey visited Yosemite Valley in 1865 and 1872<sup>11</sup> and had written volumes on the flora of central and eastern states. Among other things named for him were the *Torreya californica*, or California nutmeg,<sup>12</sup> which grows in the Merced Canyon below Yosemite Valley.

King and Kneeland authored books bearing directly on Yosemite. Both mentioned Clark, both are valued for content and style. Respectively, the books are *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* and *The Wonders of the Yosemite Valley*.

There is one poet in the album, Charles Warren Stoddard, a minor literary figure of the late 1800's. In 1867 he was so wrought up over the publication of his first book of poetry that friends persuaded him to take a vacation in Yosemite.<sup>13</sup> Naturally, his romantic nature was stirred by the valley's wonder, which later he described in his book *Footprints of the Padres*.

There are just two scenic pictures, a Watkins one of Sentinel Dome, the famed jeffrey pine on it and the photographer's equipment, on page 29; and on page 33, a picture of Hutchings' Hotel. On its back is penned, "Mr. Hutchings requests that you either put this in your album or tack it up so it can be seen, if you please. C. W. Shane, Sept. 4th."

Patiently and frequently, Clark posed for photographers, because their work fascinated him. There were a multitude of pictures taken of him, but only one was in the album and the spot above the legend "Galen Clark" is empty. Rulofson, a partner in the well-known Bradley and Rulofson photographic gallery,<sup>14</sup> is pictured on the album's last page, coupled with one of his wife and children.

Twelve spots are occupied by members of Clark's family, his parents, two of his brothers, a nephew and four of his five children. Joseph Locke Clark, the one who was killed in the Civil War at age twenty, is pictured as dark and resolute. Mary Ann Clark, the daughter who never came west, married and had eight children. She is on page 47.<sup>15</sup> Two pictures of each of Harvard graduate Alonzo Clark and Elvira Missouri Clark exist. Alonzo died in 1873 at his father's hotel.

Like her famous father, Elvira was independent and important in her own way. In San Francisco and Oakland, between 1895-1911, she advertised as Dr. Elvira M. Lee, "Metaphysician," "cancer specialist," and an "Electro-Theraputist."<sup>16</sup> She had fragmentary background for such lofty claims because her dead husband, Dr. George P. Lee, had been a respected and reputable physician in Merced,<sup>17</sup> and she had "graduated" from The College of Fine Forces and the World's Electro Medical Institute.<sup>18</sup>

Thus Elvira made her place as one of the few women "physicians" at the turn of the century, a figure of history, as are the others pictured in Galen Clark's album.<sup>19</sup>

#### NOTES

1. *Yosemite Guardian*: Galen Clark was prepared under a grant from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora L. Haynes Foundation and published in August, 1964, by the Sierra Club.

2. *New Standard Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, 1935 ed.

3. *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, VII, 529-30.

4. Accession Notes, March 14, 1949, Yosemite Museum, and information from Carl P. Russell, July 24, 1963, author's collection.

5. Clark and McCoy family records, author's collection.

6. General Sheridan signed p. 479 of the *Cosmopolitan Register* in 1875. (Register is in the Yosemite Museum.)

7. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1895. The *Mariposa Gazette* of June 18, 1864, gives an account of a peak, midway between Vernal and Nevada Falls, being named "Bellows Butte" for Dr. Bellows, who had lunched nearby.

8. Original, bound *Gazettes* are kept in the vault of the Mariposa Courthouse; microfilm copies have been made for research libraries.

9. Kenneth M. Johnson *The New Almaden Quicksilver Mine*, p. 81.

10. Bowles also gave Clark an autographed copy of his 1865 *Across the Continent*. Both Bowles' books are with Clark's library in the LeConte Memorial Lodge in Yosemite Valley.



11. *Mariposa Gazette*, July 1, 1865.
12. *Who's Who in America*, 1607-1896, p. 534.
13. Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, p. 230.
14. Mary V. G. Hood and Robert B. Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLII (March, 1963).
15. Information on Mary Ann Clark Regan contained in 1963 letters from Harry Clark Regan and Frank Bentley, author's collection.
16. See the San Francisco and Oakland city directories for 1895-1911.
17. Dr. Lee practiced in Merced from 1872 until his death in 1891. *Transactions of the Medical Society of California*, Session of 1892, p. 262.
18. Henry Harris, *California Medical Story*, p. 235; *San Francisco City Directory*, 1900-02.
19. Some pictures have no identifications, some so fragmentary that scant documentation was found.



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# California Crops that Failed

By JOHN E. BAUR

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THE NAME "CALIFORNIA," derived from a sixteenth-century Spanish novel, meant a virtual terrestrial paradise. By the same token almost every explorer from Juan Cabrillo to Junípero Serra looked with optimism on the sunny land. It was inevitable therefore that settlers would try to grow nearly every crop in its fertile soils. Although few gold miners became rich, many who turned to farming prospered by supplying a market which appeared suddenly in 1849. The new consuming public in the spirit of the Gold Rush was willing to adopt new methods and try alien foods.

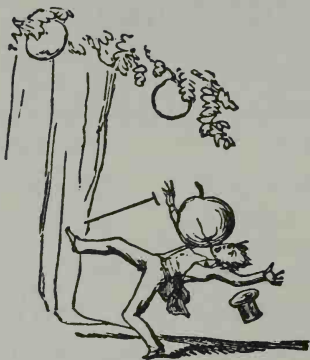
California soon hastened to publicize its spectacular initial success with exotic crops. From Australia came the eucalyptus, today so typical of the state that it seems indigenous. Cotton failed to make California a new Dixie during the Civil War, but returned in triumph after World War I. In our own century the date became a big money crop in the Coachella and Imperial valleys. These innovations seemed to vindicate the widespread belief that California's climate and soil were almost omnipotent.

Yet, California was no Eden. Nature had provided admirable climate but few good harbors and scant water where it was most needed. There were few useful native plants. Therefore, man began where nature left off. The Franciscan padres had introduced grapes, oranges, olives, apples, peaches, pears, wheat, corn, beans, tobacco, and many other Old and New World crops.<sup>1</sup> In the historic view the missions may have failed to make the Indian a permanent foundation of Christian California, but their agricultural success was undeniable.

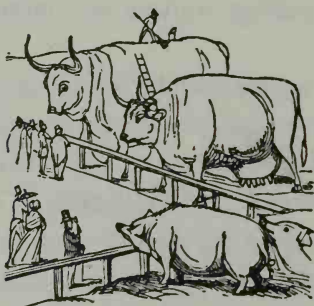
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JOHN E. BAUR, who received his Ph. D. degree at UCLA, recently published his latest book, *Dogs on the Frontier*. Dr. Baur is currently an assistant professor at San Fernando Valley State College.

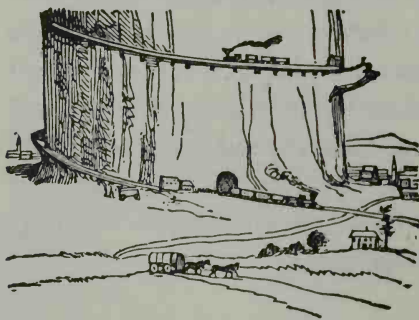
## CALIFORNIA "PRODUCTS."



BINKS, having heard so much about our wonderful products, visits an orchard. Is knocked down by a cherry.



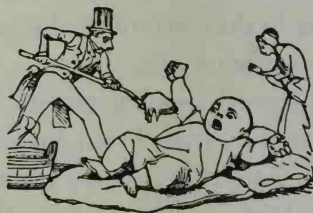
Binks then takes a look at our cattle and hogs. Never saw the like in his life.



Mere stump of a tree, occupying half of an acre, or thereabouts.



He removes the monster to his house, and makes a dinner of it. Helps his friend to a slice.



Binks, being a man of family, imagined himself posted on the Baby Question; but he never saw anything like the California "specimen."



A terrible calamity — a small-sized pumpkin strikes a house.

Not, however, until the Gold Rush centered world attention on the Pacific Coast did the region's "fabulous crops" become famous. As early as 1851 a report to Congress stated that a resident of Santa Cruz had grown a twenty-one-pound onion and a turnip "which equalled exactly in size the top of a flour barrel." Meanwhile another farmer boasted that his cabbage was 13 feet 6 inches in circumference.<sup>2</sup> When a Texas traveler, James G. Bell, visited El Monte at harvest season in 1854, superlatives were commonplace. Yet, he was startled to see fifteen-foot corn, and when the stalks had been cleared away, a glimpse of fifty-pound pumpkins capped his astonishment.<sup>3</sup> The already eminent Bayard Taylor needed no elaborate literary style when bare fact was dramatic enough. From San Francisco he somewhat gullibly wrote his father on September 4, 1859:

Apples are raised weighing three pounds apiece, pears four pounds, beets fifty pounds, and pumpkins two hundred and sixty pounds. We have seen bunches of grapes two feet and a half long and eighteen inches wide . . . Everything is the best of its kind.<sup>4</sup>

In the San Francisco markets, a decade later, Harvey Rice beheld saucer-size onions and cheerfully noted that their flavor had not been sacrificed for magnitude.<sup>5</sup>

In California, where a folklore of exaggeration had become inevitable by the nineties, an Englishman, Philip S. Robinson, added to the "California talk" which outsiders had come to expect. During his sojourn in Los Angeles a yarn-spinning train passenger informed him that squashes of the Golden State grew as big as a man. Lamented Robinson: "The impertinence of it! Think of a squash venturing to turn the scale against me . . . I should not have minded so much if it had been a water-melon, or even a 'simlion' or some other refined variety of the family. But that a *squash* the 'poor relation' of the pumpkin, should—!"<sup>6</sup>

Overland Pullmans became the birthplace of many horticultural tall stories. Charles Dudley Warner, sometime booster of the Far West, heard a conversation between a newcomer and an old-timer regarding Southern California's fruitfulness. The latter boasted that everything would grow in the state, but when pressed, hedged a bit on melons: "The fact is, melons don't do so well here." He then continued, "They ain't apt to be good. The vines grow so fast that the melons are bumped

along over the ground and bruised . . . if you want to pick a melon in the country, you have to go on horseback!"<sup>7</sup>

Melons were not the only bumper crops! On June 7, 1858, a Mrs. Brady of Mariposa County gave birth to a nineteen-and-one-half-pound daughter. Announcing the event, the San Francisco *Bulletin* joshed that "San Jose Valley, and other portions of California, that are in the habit of 'blowing' about their big squashes, enormous beets, lofty wheat, and great crops of potatoes, will please take notice of the above, as a specimen of what an ordinary mining county can produce, even with the hard times and a dry season!"<sup>8</sup>

Some seeds were worth their weight in bullion during the Gold Rush. A story was told that an old man who had watermelons sold them for \$5.00 apiece and the seed for \$16.00 an ounce. None grew. Supposedly he had boiled them—to prevent future competition!<sup>9</sup>

Though such reports were exaggerated, as most caricatures throughout history are, they complemented the truth. The virgin soils of California's valleys certainly had produced wondrous crops, and the publicity of their success helped bring the desired settlers from Eastern and Midwestern farms. Here was a veritable status symbol showing that California was not destined to remain only a hill of gold, inevitably to be exhausted.

Ignorance of climatology and agronomy handicapped contemporary science. California remained largely an enigma agriculturally until well after 1880. No one was certain which crops would flourish through the combinations of a great variety of soils, climatic regions, water resources, and the technological and commercial potentials of the time. California offered state aid to find out. In 1863 the legislature passed a bounty law to encourage new agriculture and manufactures, appropriating over \$100,000 in premiums for the successful production of cane sugar, sorghum, flax, hemp, tobacco, cotton, hops, silk, tea, coffee, indigo, and rice. Five years later the state offered a \$250 bounty for every plantation of 5,000 two-year old mulberry trees and \$300 for every 100,000 merchantable cocoons. California, as a result, had 1,800,000 mulberry trees by 1870.<sup>10</sup> Partly due to lack of irrigation facilities, Louis Prevost's experiments in growing silk failed at Riverside and elsewhere. Much has been written about the attempts to grow cotton in California during and after the Civil War. Bakersfield, then as now, was the



focus of much speculation, and for a time 10,000 acres of cotton grew there, picked by a colony of Negroes brought especially for that purpose from the South. Nevertheless, the market was poor, and many of the colored people turned to other work, while white labor commanded too high a salary to make the harvest profitable. In cotton, as later in rice, the twentieth century would bring an agricultural renaissance almost beyond the dreams of nineteenth century enthusiasts.<sup>11</sup>

Although they may expend as much intelligence, effort, and money as the wiser winners, those prophets who fail are usually called fools and forgotten. Nonetheless, California's crusaders for exotic crops worked untiringly for years. One of these was the Reverend H. H. Messenger of San Gabriel. A missionary on Africa's West Coast near Cape Palmas, 1852-62, he returned to his Ohio home because of ill health and in 1866 moved to Southern California. Within a decade Messenger was locally famous, "sometimes preaching," but more often pursuing another sort of evangelism. He struggled to make plantains, bananas, and pineapples grow and urged others to follow him.<sup>12</sup> In the late sixties he procured from the American consul in Liberia seeds of the cacao, coconut, coffee, mango, pitanga, tamarind, avocado, and African rice, and planted them along with his other strange crops imported from Panama by an Angeleno friend, Dr. R. T. Hayes.<sup>13</sup>

The case histories of California's unsuccessful crops are illuminating of the psychology and the possibilities of California in transition, 1855-80, from a primarily mining region into a leading western agricultural state. Unfortunately, county histories de-emphasize or ignore completely these failures. California as a success story is too obvious and flattering to surrender space to might-have-beens. Yet, history well-written often explains as much about a region by revealing what has been seldom said as what has been said too often!

One of California's oldest residents is the oak. A mere listing of important places named in Spanish and English for this tree reveals how numerous are its species, once the chief source of food for many Indian tribes. Yet, California lacked the cork oak, *Quercus suber*, for centuries a valuable commodity of European commerce. Growing to about 30 feet in Southern Europe and North Africa, this species is stripped of its outer bark at age fifteen, and a first cork is produced. During the rest of its long life the tree is debarked every decade. The product improves

with age. For centuries the best cork came from Portugal and Spain, but why should not "Mediterranean America," as boosters called California, capture the profits? In March, 1859, Charles L. Scott, a California representative, sent his constituents air-tight tin boxes of acorns. Speculators reasoned that California, already becoming a famous wine producer, ought to grow its own cork for bottling the fruit of the vine. The alien acorns were planted in warm, dry soil, and the long process of growth was patiently awaited.<sup>14</sup> Among the optimistic was Senator William M. Gwin. He apparently agreed with those who predicted that in twenty years California would resemble coastal Spain and that the surplus harvest of acorns could be used to fatten swine.<sup>15</sup> In a sense, the long wait paid off. At Visalia in 1883 Charles Newell, a farm expert, observed one of these cork oaks, now 2 feet in diameter and with a cork bark 6 inches thick and of excellent quality. The handsome evergreen had become a local marvel.<sup>16</sup> During the eighties, others reported the progress of individual oaks in Sonoma, Santa Barbara, and Tulare counties. By then Europe's cork supply was diminishing while demands mounted. Meanwhile E. W. Hilgard, geologist and naturalist, told the California State Horticultural Society that cork dust would prove useful in packing California's bumper fruit crops for Eastern shipment.<sup>17</sup>

Cork oaks flourished, but never rivalled Europe's best. Transportation facilities improved, speeding the Old World product westward. Simultaneously the high and rising cost of American labor in comparison to foreign, as it would for several other exotic harvests, discouraged large-scale experimentation. A revival of interest modestly developed in the 1920's, and large-scale activity during World War II when cork became a critical commodity received publicity and stimulated considerable plantings. Trees by now three generations old were debarked, and California led the nation's small cork industry.

Another temperate zone tree that pioneers respected was the pecan. In the 1860's T. H. Rose, a Los Angeles rancher, called for transplanting this tree from East of the Rockies. Eventually, pecans were grown in California, but never on the large scale predicted.<sup>18</sup> The strong Southern flavor of many Gold Rush Californians who identified the climates and soils of the West with their old homes were strong influences favoring experimentation with the plants familiar to Dixie. In 1862, for example, Sacramento and Yolo counties already boasted of a yield of

8,000 pounds of peanuts. Their enthusiastic boosters excused the relatively small harvest by blaming the floods of the Sacramento Valley, which, they estimated, had destroyed a twenty thousand-pound potential yield. This was real progress, however, since only three years earlier the state's first peanut harvest had occurred.<sup>19</sup>

The Old South's three major money crops—cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane—were tried in California. The state's cotton would rival that of Texas in quantity produced by our own time.<sup>20</sup> Tobacco, too, seemed a logical source of the state's future greatness.<sup>21</sup> It had grown wild in prehistoric California and was used by various Indian groups for ceremonial purposes. By the mission era Spaniards had been familiar with this New World native for nearly three centuries. They cultivated it at several missions and later on ranches during the Mexican period. Lansford W. Hastings reported in his *Emigrant's Guide* of 1845 that tobacco was already "an eminent success," growing as luxuriantly and yielding as well as the tobacco crop of Cuba. In this, as in many another statement, he was inaccurate, though by the mid-fifties commercial growers in Alameda and other northern counties were raising Cuban varieties with some success.<sup>22</sup> By 1856 cigars were manufactured from tobacco grown at San Jose, though San Francisco's expanding cigar industry used mostly foreign leaf.<sup>23</sup>

In 1858 H. Classen came to Los Angeles, bringing his tobacco seed. Only three specimens grew, although these were so prolific that he soon boasted of five thousand plants. Classen claimed that Los Angeles shared with Cuba the possibility of three crops per plant. Unfortunately, Southern California's sandy soils contained cutworms!<sup>24</sup> By 1857 Los Angeles County had only 10 acres of tobacco, San Mateo 2, and Alameda the same.<sup>25</sup>

With the coming of the Civil War, semitropical agriculture boomed in California. Here, surely, was the answer to the cutting off of Southern trade. As an enthusiast reasoned a few days after Lincoln entered office:

We can raise the very best tobacco. This is the climate for it. No people in the world use as much, either in smoking or chewing, as the Californians; none pay half so dearly for the luxury. We think it doubtful whether either the State of New York or Pennsylvania, leaving out their two chief cities, consumes as much tobacco as California. The tax annually levied from this quarter must be

enormous upon a population of only 375,000. If we raised the article at home, our own farmers and manufacturers would get the money which it costs, and enlarge the field just so much for our home labor.<sup>26</sup>

California's great pioneer historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, called the boom that was underway in those war years a "fiasco in tobacco." He brushed it aside with a brief reference to the dry climate which ruined the quality of leaf.<sup>27</sup> James D. Culp was the chief instigator of the fiasco. Born in New York, he moved to Iowa at seventeen and dreamed of becoming a tobacco king. Failure did not easily down his schemes; he located in Santa Clara County, California, in 1858. There Culp patented a process for curing tobacco. He granted the privilege of using it on terms of royalty or a percentage of the tobacco that growers might cure.<sup>28</sup> The Culp process consisted of alternately piling the plant for fermentation and drying it in a horizontal position in close, heated buildings for three to six weeks, followed by one-half a year of stacking in bulk to overcome climatic disadvantages and to give superior and uniform flavor to the leaf. In 1872 the American Tobacco Company was established to use the patents. It planted 400 acres in the vicinity. Increased plantings during the seventies reached a high of 240,000 pounds by 1874. These were found in Santa Clara, San Benito, Alameda, Los Angeles, San Mateo, and Lake counties. Unfortunately, production by 1879 had fallen to only 73,300 pounds.<sup>29</sup> The process had not worked well, while high Civil War prices had blinded Californians to the mediocrity of their product.<sup>30</sup> A light yield had not contributed to the failure. Most writers praised the bumper crops. The desiccating atmosphere removed moisture before sufficient time had elapsed for the decomposition of chlorophyll and the partial conversion of the starch into gum and sugar. In other words, it had dried up instead of being properly cured. A practical planter concluded that the fiasco was "not to be set down to the account of inexperience, but rather of experience."<sup>31</sup>

One might surrender his dream of transplanting typically tropical crops to California, but tobacco, a temperate zone plant, seemed so logical for success that the crusade to introduce it has continued to our own day. In post-World War II days an experiment for Turkish tobacco appeared in Fresno County, the only area where humidity was low enough to afford ideal growing and ripening conditions. Fresno's



intense summer heat forced a second crop annually, ready to cut only two months after the initial July harvest.<sup>32</sup> As late as 1950 Liggett & Myers' San Francisco plant was the only cigarette manufacturing concern west of the Mississippi.<sup>33</sup>

About the time the first tobacco boom began, suggestions were current for transplanting a succulent from even farther south, the Mexican opuntia cactus, upon which lived the cochineal beetle. In that preaniline dye age, the bodies of 70,000 of these insects were gathered to make a pound; then they were roasted, immersed in water; the resultant dye produced the best carmine for fine woolens and silks. Just after the Mexican War, a cochineal industry had been developed in Texas, South Carolina, and Georgia, reducing the monopoly of Hispanic America. The turmoil in Mexico caused by Benito Juárez's War of the Reform encouraged further development in the United States. This would be no new experiment in California, for these cacti had grown in mission gardens nearly a century before, without need for irrigation or extensive labor expenditure. Still, the insects had to be collected every two months for a profit of \$2.50 a pound. Here, once more, the higher wages demanded by Californians made competition with a peon economy impossible.<sup>34</sup>

Today's Southern Californians enhance their gardens with banana plants but seldom think of their exotic stalks as potentially profitable. Their predecessors of nearly a century ago felt otherwise. California had the rich, sandy soils to produce the plant. Now, however, we know that bananas, *musa sapientum*, are best cultivated in a hot, damp tropical climate and that the frostless zone of the United States is too narrow to assure the plant's commercial cultivation.<sup>35</sup> Ever optimistic, H. H. Messenger began experimenting with bananas in the late 1860's and believed that there was a good home market in San Francisco for this healthful food. He knew that freight rates to the Bay Area were high, but felt that his crop would reach an eager consuming public within 24 hours and make a good profit. To the visionary, this pet scheme might build Southern California:

Strangers would crowd in and make homes where such fruits grow almost as in the tropics, and where the climate is so healthy that one scarcely can be sick . . . till the whole country would be like the suburbs of the city. I say then, let everyone plant at least one banana, and let it appear that it is a general thing for

them to grow and fruit, and if prosperity does not smile on our fair heritage here, we may say there is no use trying anywhere in this world for success.<sup>36</sup>

By 1870 Samuel H. Gerrish was experimenting with bananas in Sacramento in order to develop a variety suitable to the hot, dry climate; he felt the results were favorable.<sup>37</sup> Santa Barbara, he believed, was too windy. Barbareños did not agree, for at near-by Montecito Dana B. Clark ate from his own plants of the Florida species.<sup>38</sup>

While Los Angeles' early tourists stood amazed before the banana plants, zealots like J. W. Potts told them of having hundreds of such trees a dozen feet high which had never been touched by frost, a supposed guarantee of future affluence for the planter.<sup>39</sup> The United States Department of Agriculture was never so naive. In 1887 it reported the extensive plantings of several species of bananas, including the Abyssinian variety, but concluded that "considering that we receive the fruit in abundance from Mexico and the South Sea islands its profitable cultivation here is exceedingly doubtful."<sup>40</sup> Commercial failure was sealed when the United Fruit Company a few years later developed Central American plantations and perfected a marketing system that left California's pathetically small-scale, high-priced products as isolated garden curiosities.

The perennial reed-like ginger, requiring tropical soils, was tried, too, chiefly in Southern California. Agricultural authorities believed that initial attention had been centered on this herb by San Francisco's Gold Rush commerce in Chinese ginger. It was used in medicines, candies, and pickle making. By the late 1850's Los Angeles, a valley turned into a virtual amateur's plant laboratory, was experimenting with ginger. As a garden oddity it grew luxuriantly and was cultivated by Chinese immigrants, but again foreign competition and something considerably less than an ideal climate defeated the endeavor.<sup>41</sup>

Sugar cane was a tropical crop far from unknown on American soil. It had been grown successfully by Louisiana creoles since the late eighteenth century. Why not try it in omnipotent California? During the 1850's some could be seen in Los Angeles County. Instead of producing sugar, growers made it into molasses, and a little was sold locally for chewing.<sup>42</sup> Hawaiian sugar was transplanted to Santa Barbara and the Santa Clara Valley by the seventies, but with no notable success.<sup>43</sup> "Chinese sugar cane," or sorghum, had better success and is now a

standard American crop. In the early 1850's it was a novelty grown in the southern part of the state and fed to cattle and hogs, though it did yield some good molasses.<sup>44</sup>

Pineapples are native to the New World, yet the pineapple was a rare luxury to Americans of a century ago. It is really the juicy stem of a plant in which berries formed from numerous flowers are imbedded. This four-pound fruit requires warm climates and porous, well-drained soil with alternating wet and dry seasons. California offers the dry climate, but wet seasons are not always to be counted on. Southern Florida, with a long wet season and humidity most of the year, proved a more hospitable home than did the West Coast where a slight frost would damage crops beyond repair. Chilly night air, praised by summer visitors, was the curse of pineapple enthusiasts.<sup>45</sup> Coastal valleys, being more humid than the interior and yet protected from cold winds, seemed the only possible site for plantations.<sup>46</sup> As early as 1858, therefore, Santa Clara and Solano counties were producing a few pineapples. Florida seeds brought a modest success at Oceanside as late as 1888.<sup>47</sup> Like other exotic-crop growers, pineapple planters were die-hards! Even in the 1920's the campaign continued. J. B. Rapp of Hollywood probably had the best results with the fruit, though he still had to contend with winter cold and summer dryness to produce small two-pound specimens.<sup>48</sup>

California's burgeoning economy during and after the Gold Rush required numerous fibers, most of which had to be imported. Here again, necessity might be answered by California's unique geographical conditions. Ramie was a tropical plant, first raised in California about 1870, when its introducers conceived the idea of planting it after having studied Southern plantation methods. A thousand specimens were planted in Alameda County; the next year there were seventy-five thousand, nearly all of which were sold. In 1872 sixty thousand plants flourished, and their harvest was shipped to Hawaii and Central America. On Twitchell Island in the Sacramento River, a Mr. French was cultivating 26 acres of ramie by 1873 and making \$300 an acre from his two crops per year.<sup>49</sup> The chief obstacle was the absence of American machinery to separate the fibers and prepare them for manufacturing.

By the 1860's, as farming replaced mining as California's chief source of wealth and employment, a great need for grain sacks developed. Most

of these were made of jute, and it was estimated that the bumper crop of wheat in 1873 cost California farmers \$2,450,000 for sacks alone! At the going price of wheat, it took 2,722,222 bushels just to pay for the bags. Jute's price was high because of freight rates from India to Dundee, Scotland, where the fiber was woven into sacks to be shipped to San Francisco.<sup>50</sup> The rich bottomlands of California seemed best suited for jute, but initial results were poor.<sup>51</sup> Flax would have a modest future in California, for by Gold Rush days some already grew virtually wild in the state. Spanish ranchers had cultivated a small acreage for their linen requirements. Oil mills, established during the Civil War, became interested in the new crop.<sup>52</sup>

In an era when synthetic medicines were unknown, natural drugs were of supreme importance in the world's pharmacopoeia. California, which had caused the greatest gold fevers, might now soothe mankind's suffering by becoming a vast harvest field for medicinal plants. John S. Hittell, pioneer and writer on California agriculture, in 1887 suggested that the state produce both quinine and cocaine. Coca leaves had been chewed by Andean Indians for generations as a source of quick energy. Hittell was not dismayed by the failure to grow quinoa at the University of California at Berkeley and also minimized, as any zealot would, American "prejudice" about producing these two drugs, pointing out that the Old World held a like prejudice against raising maize and that early Midwesterners narrowly considered tomatoes nauseous.<sup>53</sup> Hittell was no pioneer on the quinine front. Back in the mid-seventies a world shortage of the drug derived from the bark of the cinchona tree of South America had caused comment in California. At that time quinine was the only known successful medicine against malaria. The United States Department of Agriculture reported that California held the "forlorn hope of the United States in the successful growth of the tree within its borders," but even optimists felt that only San Diego might be its possible habitat. Temperatures but slightly below 50°F. killed the plants. San Diego's mean temperature, according to Signal Office records there was 60°F.<sup>54</sup> Within the next few years W. G. Klee of the College of Agriculture at Berkeley made a special study of cinchona, growing the plant experimentally in 1881. Only one species survived. Plants of this type, however, suffered from frosts throughout the state, and another good intention sank into limbo.<sup>55</sup>



Not the small golden poppy of poetry and tourist delight, but the Oriental opium poppy would have been California's state flower, at least commercially speaking, had some enthusiasts won their way! "There can be but little doubt that our clear sky, fervid summer suns, and heavy dews, would greatly favor the production of this article," wrote an advocate in 1857.<sup>56</sup> Twentieth-century Californians will be shocked at such a suggestion, especially since we are currently fighting against the smuggling of marihuana and other narcotics across our borders. Yet, to last century's agrarian innovators, this endeavor would have been all in the name of medicine—or economic gain. In *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, one of the most influential American financial journals of the day, Emanuel Weiss wrote in 1862 on "Hints as to the Development of Our California-China Trade," and his major suggestion was to produce opium. The British, he said, had vanquished King Cotton, now let America attack England's Queen Opium, a monopoly trade which had caused an Anglo-Chinese war in the early 1840's. He compared the climate of Southern California with that of Bombay, ideal for opium production, as Chinese settlers in the Golden State had already noted. A few had started to grow poppies. Like Hittell, Weiss belittled moralists, observing that hypocrites ignored Boston firms' indulging in the contraband opium trade in Chinese ports. He even insisted that the Oriental poppy, standing stoutly against insects, gave rich food for the already expanding honey-bee industry of California! Then, too, in Europe the oil of the white poppy was considered the best, after olive oil. Weiss suggested that ten or twenty Greek families be introduced to California. They were experts in the opium districts of Asia Minor, and they could dry California figs and cultivate local vineyards when they were not busy expertly directing poppy production. These people would gladly migrate because of contemporary and increasing violence between Christian Greeks and Turkish Moslems in their homeland, so similar to California in climate and beauty. In conclusion, Weiss enthused:

To try is to succeed. The production of opium wants neither chemical [n]or mechanical skill, no costly apparatus, no large outlay of capital, and in the vicinity of San Diego, land, labor and cattle are at normal prices, unaltered yet by gold excitement or emigration. Any amount of opium produced there would find a ready market in the capital of the State, whose commercial relations with

Japan and China are improving daily. Opium in California will lead the Chinese tea over the projected Pacific railroad, and will create a revolution in the Eastern trade.<sup>57</sup>

Numerous articles in the *Califórnia Rural Press* during the 1870's advocated this most unusual type of farming. Persia was beginning to cut back its opium production in order to give land over to food crops, and California ought to move fast to fill a commercial vacuum.<sup>58</sup> Opium was already being successfully produced in several unlikely places in the United States, such as Jefferson County, New York, and Topeka, Kansas, as well as on scattered California farms.<sup>59</sup> One of these was at Novato, Marin County, where in 1870, a Mr. Baudrye began growing poppies. An analysis showed his product yielded 5.75 per cent morphia, nearly equal to the average of Indian opium. He sold his harvest for \$7,000 a pound at San Francisco. A grower of Lake County planted 13 acres at this time, producing both opium and oil.<sup>60</sup>

Meanwhile, a rather extensive experiment in poppy growing was under way near San Bernardino. Dr. James P. Greves, secretary of the Southern California Colony Association, sowed the seed as a transitional crop in the period between the planting and the fruiting of the orange groves of his enterprise. The production was a success and of good quality. Unfortunately, the slow process of slitting poppy-seed capsules, letting the juice exude, and then drying it before the concentrated raw opium could be scraped carefully with a knife, defeated his scheme. Once again, American labor, both scarce and costly in his area, destroyed profits, and Greves was too wise to try again.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, as late as 1888, a Chinese immigrant named Ah Gee, supposedly a California resident for ten years, attempted to establish an opium farm. He, like his Caucasian contemporaries, became enthused about the ideal possibilities of San Bernardino County for narcotics production believing that two Orientals could tend ten acres without trouble. Seed was then still available in the Chinese stores of San Francisco, and a dollar's worth would plant an acre.<sup>62</sup>

Not an Oriental narcotic, but the Far East's pleasantest stimulant, tea, received more attention than any other crop permanently to fail in California. Historically, the tea trade has always been profitable. New England's first commerce with the Far East shortly after Independence was based on tea, following the chief role of Britain's East India Company

whose policies had led to the Boston Tea Party a few years earlier. Apparently centuries of intensified cultivation by Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and Ceylonese did not impress upon Occidentals that the plant requires a warm subtropical climate and a moist, steaming atmosphere resulting from frequent and heavy rains. California had the winter rains, but warm weather was limited to summer months. Since tea thrives on rich, light soils containing stores of well drained humus, it seemed to optimistic promoters that the foothills of the Sierra Nevada might prove ideal. There, on undulating land where rain could escape freely, they envisioned tea gardens. Yet, zealots did not emphasize properly the vital role of intensive soil cultivation and weeding, requiring extensive and patient labor. In the Orient manures were used frequently. Pruning the tea bushes was a well ordered Asian science. Plants were always kept at a convenient size for plucking and to increase leaf production. The largest leaves selected were never more than 2 ½ inches long. Actually, one section of the United States did prove excellent for raising Darjeeling and Assam hybrids; this was Pinehurst, South Carolina, where plants were introduced as early as 1848.

As soon as thousands of Chinese began arriving during the Gold Rush, it seemed logical to many Anglo-Saxons that these people from the land of tea, who made a ceremony of its consumption, should become the able-bodied force to turn California's foothills into tea gardens. James H. Carson noted that many of them must be storehouses of information on the plant. Already encouragement was being given them.<sup>63</sup> Before the 1850's were well advanced, strong anti-Chinese feeling crystallized. Californians objected to the Celestials as miners, partly because they were carrying wealth back to the Orient and, more significantly, because they took jobs that Caucasians wanted, accepting much lower salaries. Tea offered a happy solution to this problem, it seemed. Chinese would become useful by pursuing an activity that white people did not understand, occupy jobs no one else could fill, compete not at all with their Anglo brethren, and produce positive wealth for California—at the expense of China's foreign trade! Thus individual Orientals were constantly being quoted as recommending that tea plantations be established in the mountainous area with which they as miners were already quite familiar. The press called for a state law to protect the Chinese in this endeavor and guarantee their improve-

ments,<sup>64</sup> by allowing them to occupy and close public lands for tea planting.<sup>65</sup>

Practical critics pointed to the low wages of the Far East's tea growers as compared to those of Californians enjoying a Gold Rush inflation. D. J. Browne of the United States Patent Office argued that with improved machinery, augmented transportation facilities, and a robust, well-fed labor supply capable of more energy output than was possible in the Orient, the California Chinese competing heroically with their mother country, could produce at least a local supply of tea which the Orient could not overcome, for it lacked modern factory technology as well as good communication.<sup>66</sup>

T. A. Kendo, a Japanese of San Francisco writing a treatise in 1880 on the subject of tea-growing at a time when Japanese in California numbered under a thousand, noted that "The opinion has been expressed by highly intelligent Japanese, now resident among us, that this State is, in every respect, better suited for growing this shrub than their native land."<sup>67</sup> He told of a major experiment in 1869 made by a German, Herr Schnell, who had spent many years as an official in Japan and who, upon arriving in California, introduced several Japanese skilled in raising tea and processing its leaves. Schnell's company purchased an extensive tract at Gold Hill, El Dorado County. At first the acreage was limited to 120 acres as an experiment, but the colony was expected to expand in acreage as well as in sons of Nippon. These free farmers might then purchase their own tea farms. To the optimistic Kendo, only the short labor supply seemed a disadvantage. Yet when he wrote, the pioneers had already set out 140,000 plants, expected to bear after one year and to require little irrigation. He felt that the labor factor would be offset by suitable Sierra land and a 25¢ per pound duty on all foreign teas entering the United States. Freight and exchanges increased the disadvantage to the foreign product to 35¢ a pound.<sup>68</sup>

Schnell raised his plants from seed sowed in rows, as with beans. He calculated that the proper planting time in California was November and December. Some of his plants grew to 14 inches. The tender leaves were stripped and placed in large copper pans and roasted, then shaken in baskets and swung in the wind until they were free of moisture. Again they were roasted and rolled between the palms of workers'



hands to separate the leaves and prevent crumbling. Finally, they were stored in jars.<sup>69</sup> John S. Harbison, an agricultural pioneer himself as the successful introducer of the honey bee to California commerce, made a trip to Schnell's Japanese colony near Placerville and became enthusiastic. He praised the Japanese workers for their expert tilling and found that "being besides ingenious and capable in a hundred different ways . . . they are comfortably domiciled and express themselves well satisfied with their situation."<sup>70</sup> No believers in strict monoculture, they also had planted mulberry trees, hoping for a silk industry. Schnell had imported a new, hardier silkworm called "aman," which could feed on black oak leaves as well as the mulberry. One friendly observer mixed patriotism and medicine, rationalizing that, "China tea is not so congenial to our health as we desire. It is more than probable that tea grown where we grow will be better adapted to our taste and healthful digestion."<sup>71</sup>

For Schnell, tragedy came early. The waters of the public *zanja* he used in summertime to irrigate the tea plants contained minerals from near-by mining regions, the iron and sulphur of which supposedly killed his plants when mineralized rings were precipitated about each of them, literally throttling them and cutting the bark. All perished, and the "I-told-you-so" fraternity chanted failure.<sup>72</sup> Schnell also had trouble with the hardy miners who jumped his land and damaged his crops by their digging. Then, too, he allegedly had been cheated in the quality of the tea bushes he had imported. Being a poor businessman, the German's tangled financial affairs proved too much for him. He returned to Japan and never saw California again. When the colony withered the land was sold to a rancher.<sup>73</sup>

Meanwhile at Santa Barbara, a region recommended for several other unusual crops, Colonel William W. Hollister planted a "small forest" of tea bushes and also introduced Japanese growers, but although his plants prospered, the homegrown product could not reduce overseas competition.<sup>74</sup> During the Civil War, H. B. Sontag had started a plantation near San Francisco with very similar results.<sup>75</sup>

Sam Brannan, like several other men who helped build California in that era and in turn became famous, started a promising small tea garden near Calistoga in the sixties; but without Schnell's expert help, it was soon neglected.<sup>76</sup> Finding that he could make bigger returns on

his capital elsewhere, the wary Mormon pioneer abandoned this lost cause. Like another lost cause, that of importing camels for desert military maneuvers in the 1850's, remnants of the attempt were seen for years, ignored and gone wild. Diehards continued to exhibit single plants and boasted to their friends of their luxuriant growth, which was undoubtedly true, but proved nothing.<sup>77</sup> One old faithful, Dr. A. W. Thornton of Portland, Oregon, was insisting as the century waned that the tea plant was "admirably suited to Northern California and Southern Oregon," and based his contention on the Pacific Coast sunlight, "so abundantly charged with actinic rays, as shown by the richness of the foliage and gorgeous tints of the fruit and autumnal foliage, which supports the view that any plant, the active principle of which is located in the leaves, would *prima facie* yield a richer product where actinic rays are abundant."<sup>78</sup>

Others could be equally as imaginative about the "tea fever," which the *Pacific Rural Press* dubbed the "craze." An editorial noted that housewives were being urged to grow tea in their gardens as they did fragrant herbs for kitchen use. Indeed, this might produce a splendid sociability, or "togetherness," as we would call it today. For

Neighbors, too, could join forces and have fully as good a time chatting over tea picking in fine weather as they can tea drinking at other seasons. There could be just as much solid information of neighborhood affairs exchanged across a tea bush as across a tea table. Perhaps if home tea growing be urged upon the ground of its social features, there will be unusual interest excited.<sup>79</sup>

If the tea fever ever had an epitaph explaining its promoters' philosophy, it was probably framed in the following, written in 1877:

Hundreds of people, with commendable enterprise, embark in novelties which are proposed, and ninety-nine out of each hundred lay aside the venture because it seems at the time clearly impracticable, by reason of some existing difficulties. The last man or woman in each hundred clings to the novelty, confidently propagating it, and diligently caring for its products, in the hope and belief that the end will yet be in success. Something like this is the history of the tea plant in this country.<sup>80</sup>

Simultaneously, tea's chief rival for the stimulating affections of Americans—coffee—was also being tried. Today's writer, with the historian's hindsight and the modern botanist's and climatologist's advice, can smugly see why coffee could do nothing but fail. Drought is the

bush's deadly enemy, and California has known long dry spells throughout historic times. Young coffee trees need shading, which California enthusiasts supplied by growing castor oil plants among them. Well-watered mountain areas at 1,000 to 4,000 feet elevations are optimum, and so the foothills of the Sierra, as in the case of tea, were recommended. However, 75 to 120 inches of rainfall per year are needed, and California misses this minimum by about 60 inches annually! Plants must also be protected from cold, heat, and dry winds; the grower must wait until the third year for his first harvest. California's "tropical" summer was too short.

Californians had become early enthusiasts for what they called "wild coffee."<sup>81</sup> It was found along water courses. Each berry of the plant grew singly, like a large grape. Gathering of the berries was tedious work, and, as a cynic remarked, "only a very lively imagination could discover in this smoke anything like the aroma of coffee." Actually, as Eugene W. Hilgard of the University of California explained, this was the seed of a member of the buckthorn family, *Rhamnus californicus*, and was no more related to Arabian coffee, *Coffea arabica*, than it was to a maple tree!<sup>82</sup> This was a blow to those who reasoned that if wild coffee could grow in California, then surely the domesticated Old World plant would luxuriate. Nevertheless, there were those who were still willing to try the orthodox variety. Acquiring the seed was to be a major problem. As William Saunders of the Department of Agriculture reported, coffee seeds soon lost their germinating properties. They had to be picked fresh and packed in dry sand, hermetically sealed in tin boxes for shipment.<sup>83</sup> A veteran of this futile farming observed in 1877 that scarcely any of the seed brought from Costa Rica for experimentation on the California coast had sprouted. Charles A. Reed planted a pound of Hawaiian coffee seed without seeing a single germination.<sup>84</sup> As usual, pessimists proved to be the realists and argued that during the fructification season the berries would not get the vital summer rains. Could irrigation solve the problem? Considering the technological difficulties of the day, probably not.<sup>85</sup>

Charles H. Shinn, essentially a farm boy brought up in Gold Rush California and from 1877 to 1882 a newspaperman on the San Francisco *Bulletin* from where he ranged the interior of California studying agricultural and mining pursuits, showed a decided interest in every poten-

tial new crop. After considerable observation in 1877, the year of the most spectacular coffee boom, Shinn concluded:

No man now testing coffee considers its success other than a problem as yet unresolved. We propose to first find out whether it will grow here, since the tree is decidedly ornamental, and then we shall soon settle the question of its profitable yield. A plant is well worthy of a trial which is cultivated in Arabia, Ceylon, Java, India, Central America, Brazil, and Liberia; nor can a culture so widely extended be properly called "restricted."

As did other optimists, he believed the large labor force characteristic of tropical agriculture could be dispensed with, since it was the inefficiency of the workers that made masses necessary. He, too, had great faith in the near omnipotence of American machinery, even in that age well before automation.<sup>86</sup>

The rise of coffee prices in the early seventies was a more powerful encouragement than the scholarly Shinn's generalized statement. Furthermore, Horace J. Smith, coffee evangelist and secretary of the National Agricultural Congress, visited Southern California and spread the word. Edward S. Morris of Philadelphia, connected with the Liberian Commission at the Centennial Exhibition held in that city the previous year, sent coffee seeds to Smith and to S. C. Evans of Riverside. Some local farmers even believed that "Riverside promises as much for coffee groves as for orange groves."<sup>87</sup> In Fresno County, at the time, coffee had a small initial success,<sup>88</sup> while in Alameda, W. W. Brier of Centerville raised Kona coffee from Hawaiian seeds. The first severe frost dashed his hopes.<sup>89</sup>

A final comment on the pathetic pursuit of the coffee crop is that of William Saunders, Superintendent of Grounds of the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., who offered ten dollars for a pound of coffee produced from trees grown in the open air for the past three years anywhere in the United States. He had to report that the reward was never claimed.<sup>90</sup> Even had coffee plants prospered, planters themselves probably would not have. James M. Guinn, no mean booster of Southern California potentialities, concluded years after the craze ended that "home grown coffee, like home grown tea and home made silk never affected the price of the imported articles, nor brought fortunes or fame to the promoters of the industries."<sup>91</sup>

Now and then other suggestions appeared for planting an unusual



crop, and these were followed by the pattern of hope and effort and failure that we have already seen. By 1900 nearly all the crops commercially grown in California were succeeding and would remain permanent parts of the agricultural economy. The age of gullible experimentation was over.

Is this then merely a pathetic episode in an otherwise cheerful agricultural history, a bit of "curiosa Californica," with no lasting results? Perhaps not. Experiments in other tropical products continue in California today, though pursued under careful scientific procedure. The modest publicity these earlier efforts gave California as a legendary cornucopia proved modestly worthwhile. After all, some crops attempted at the time—rice, cotton, avocados—did succeed in a later day. This story, too, must be considered as emblematic of a hopefulness of broad-minded Californians, sure that their diversified climates could do almost everything for everybody. That confidence, applied in a myriad practical ways, has not proved fruitless.

#### NOTES

1. An interesting study is Arthur P. Whitaker. "The Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, III (January, 1929), 1-14, dealing with the whole Spanish era in the New World. Indeed, the world has contributed to California's modern agriculture with rice from China, New Zealand smilax grass, the Mexican avocado, Chilean alfalfa, France's apricots, North Africa's Deglet Noor dates, Italian olives, Turkish seedless grapes, Smyrna figs, and India's flax. The Comte de la Pérouse introduced potatoes from their native Peru during his visit to California in 1786.

2. "Agriculture in California," by A. Williams, *Report of the Commission of Patents for the Year 1851, Part II, Agriculture*, 32nd Cong., first Session., House Ex. Doc. No. 102 (Washington, 1852), 4-6.

3. James G. Bell, "A Log of the Texas-California Cattle Trail, 1854," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* XXXVI, (July, 1932), 64.

4. *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, ed. by Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, I, 351. Taylor was told of a tree the fruit of which outweighed the tree itself! Supposedly, there was celery taller than corn stalks and onions as big as his head. See Bayard Taylor, *New Pictures from California*, p. 8-9.

5. Harvey Rice, *Letters From the Pacific Slope*, pp. 79-80.

6. Philip S. Robinson, *Sinners and Saints: A Tour Across the States and Around Them*, p. 321. In the early eighties, George W. Romsper reported that

he saw more fruit for sale in San Francisco in one day than was raised annually in Ohio. "I have seen several millions of fine melons lying in a single heap," he exclaimed. George W. Romsper, *The Western Echo*, p. 367.

7. Charles Dudley Warner, *On Horseback: A Tour in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, With Notes of Travel in Mexico and California*, p. 309.

8. *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, June 24, 1858.

9. Mary E. Anderson, *Scenes in the Hawaiian Islands and California*, p. 224.

10. A good recent article covering this activity is Nelson Klose, "California's Experimentation in Sericulture," *Pacific Historical Review* XXX (August 1961), 213-227. See also, 1883 on, Reports of California Board of Silk Culture.

11. *California Agriculture*, ed. by Charles B. Hutchison, p. 41.

12. J. J. Warner, Benjamin Hayes, and Joseph P. Widney, *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California*, pp. 90-91.

13. *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly News*, March 10, 1868, and Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, p. 126.

14. *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 22, 1859.

15. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1859. That same year the United States imported \$180,000 worth of cork, which the home market might some day have captured.

16. *Pacific Rural Press* (San Francisco), April 23, 1883, p. 377.

17. See *Pacific Rural Press*, XIII (February 24, 1877), 114, for a description of the success of oak growth near Santa Barbara. The *Press*, XXXIII (January 8, 1887), 29, reported cork oaks in Sonoma, Santa Barbara, and Tulare counties. E. W. Hilgard's report is in the *Press* for March 12, 1887, p. 213. W. G. Klee, in charge of the agricultural grounds of the University of California's College of Agriculture, reported the cork oak plantings at Berkeley a success, despite "miserable soil" in the experimental area. University of California, College of Agriculture, *Supplement to the Biennial Report of the Board of Regents* (1887), Appendix III, p. 121.

For a study of twentieth-century cork booms in California, consult: N. Lamb, "American-Grown Cork," *American Forests*, XXVII (January, 1921), 15-16; W. Metcalf, "Cork Oak, A Forest Tree With Possibilities for California," State of California, *California Agricultural Department Bulletin*, XVIII (October, 1929), 539-61. Woodbridge Metcalf, Extension Forester of the state Department of Agriculture, reported the United States as the world's chief user of cork and cork products. Between 1912 and 1916, the U.S. Forest Service tried several times to establish cork oak plantations at Monterey, Santa Barbara, and Angeles National Forest, without success, due to floods and poor plantings, and later drought. At that time, most cork users were in the East; transportation was not ideal. There was a long wait before a crop, and cork trees were notorious fire hazards. Americans had little know-how in cork-stripping.

During World War II, Charles E. McManus, President of Crown Cork & Seal Company, campaigned to establish plantations in California for the war effort. He distributed seedlings to landowners and school children. Later, his campaign was

extended into the Old South. See Clifton F. Schmidt, Jr., "Corkateer," *American Forests*, LI (May, 1945), 222-24 and 253; Giles B. Cook, "Cork Culture in the United States," *Scientific American*, LVIII (May, 1944), 357-64. Cook discusses Thomas Jefferson's early interest in American cork transplanting, and California's experiment at Chico, 1904.

It is unlikely that cork will ever become a profitable crop in California, due to market conditions and the fact that cheaper-quality cork purchased abroad is more useful in industry.

18. Los Angeles *Star*, November 14, 1868; article is entitled "Pecan Trees," by T. H. Rose.

19. "Pea-Nuts in California," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* XLVIII (March, 1863), 270.

20. The *Pacific Rural Press*, reports of the State Agricultural Society, and the local press reported copiously on this well-known but temporary failure, and E. W. Hilgard, *Report on the Physical and Agricultural Features of . . . California . . . Cotton Production*. See Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide*, pp. 86, 89.

21. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado; or, Adventures in the Path of Empire*, II, 345.

The best study of California's experiences in tobacco raising is Robert Hammond, "Historical Aspects of Tobacco Culture in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXX (June, 1961), 97-107. Because Hammond has covered the subject, the present article presents only an outline of the role of tobacco in the state.

In 1842, Dufлот de Mofras, a French visitor, reported tobacco flourishing near Fort Ross and also drying rooms at Port Bodega nearby, Eugene Dufлот de Mofras, *Exploration du Territoire de l'Oregon . . .*, II, 6-7. Tobacco remains have been found in mission bricks! See George W. Hendry and Margaret P. Kelly, "The Plant Content of Adobe Bricks," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IV (December, 1925), 361.

In 1867, a critic reported that California tobacco was not fit for cigars due to the poor attention given the product, but that it was chiefly used for smoking as killikinick and for chewing in soft and hard plugs, *Alta California* (San Francisco), Steamer Edition, January 30, 1867, p. 7.

22. "Tobacco," *Spirit of the Age*, (Sacramento), April 4, 1856.

23. *Weekly Columbian* (Columbia), November 8, 1856. Adolph Sutro, who was a cigar merchant long before he became a Comstock Lode entrepreneur and tunnel engineer, advertised in the *California Farmer* (Sacramento), September 18, 1859, offering raisers of California-grown tobacco a ready market at his Montgomery Street establishment in San Francisco.

24. Los Angeles *Star*, December 10, 1859, and August 24, 1861.

25. Sacramento *Union*, September 16, 1858. Gilroy shipped 3,000 pounds of smoking tobacco and 60,000 cigars to New York in good order during 1874, *ibid.*, June 8, 1874.

26. *California Farmer*, XV (March 15, 1861).
27. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, 34.
28. "Tobacco in California," *Transactions of the State Agricultural Society of California*, 1874, p. 495.
29. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 35. Hittell reported a specimen of tobacco growing nearly ten feet tall near San Francisco, John S. Hittell, *The Resources of California*, p. 181.

The Biennial Reports of the Surveyor General of California during the 1870's and 1880's show a gradual increase during most of this time of the acreage and production of tobacco. For example, there were 180 total acres with 29,000 lbs. in 1873, 967 acres with 1,243,734 lbs. in 1874, 240 acres with 225,000 lbs. in 1879. Acreage and production had decreased significantly by 1882.

30. J. P. Munro-Fraser and others, *History of Santa Clara County, California*, pp. 303 and 601. See also, "Tobacco in California," *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society*, 1874, 273.

31. *Ibid.*, 244.

32. Howard Kegley, "Tobacco Comes to California," *Westways*, January, 1948, p. 5.

33. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 8, 1950. As late as 1898, Theodore H. Hittell believed that "we may then rival Louisiana in the production of sugar, Virginia in tobacco, and Kentucky in the production in hemp." Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, IV, 368.

In a letter to the author dated Berkeley, June 14, 1963, H. M. Butterfield, Agriculturist Emeritus of the Agricultural Extension Service, University of California, noted the experiments in Turkish tobacco made by the California Agricultural Experiment Station in 1923 and the attempt at that time to market the crop cooperatively raised at Exeter. He says that little or no tobacco is raised commercially in California today. Farmers prefer to grow crops where the financial results are less dubious. Deep appreciation is due Mr. Butterfield for his expert information on the crops mentioned in this paper.

*San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, October 27, 1859.

34. The Indians of Mexico used the females of the *Dactylopius coccus* beetle even before 1492. Cochineal today is almost entirely replaced by aniline dyes. In Oaxaca the cactus plantations were similar to those of the mulberry in the Orient, and the beetles received correspondingly as good care as did silkworms. Each female produced more than 1,000 young.

35. E. J. Wickson, *One Thousand Questions in California Agriculture Answered*, p. 23.

36. *Los Angeles Herald*, March 17, 1877. H. H. Messenger and George F. Silvester, who raised bananas, offered to sell bulbs reasonably to encourage local farmers, but few applied. *Pacific Rural Press*, XV (May 10, 1879). See also, *California Agriculturist*, IV (January 1, 1874).

37. *Pacific Rural Press*, XXXV (April 14, 1888).



38. *Ibid.*, XIII (April 7, 1877).

39. Emma H. Adams, *To and Fro in Southern California*, p. 113.

40. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Division of Pomology, *Report on the Condition of Tropical and Semi-Tropical Fruits in the United States in 1887*, p. 125.

During the boom of the 'twenties, enthusiasm revived briefly. See: S. E. Durst, "Bananas in California Prosperity," *Pacific Rural Press*, CXV (June 2, 1928), 684, which, however, stressed *importations* of bananas from Central America, a trade then but 25 years old.

41. Ginger, raised for its tuberous aromatic rootstocks, is native to the Pacific islands, but has never become more than an ornamental greenhouse crop in California. The state lacks sufficient wintertime warmth for good outdoor crops. See San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, January 11, 1859, and Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly News*, October 11, 1867.

42. *California Farmer*, XII (March 14, 1862). 27,000,000 pounds of sugar had been imported into the United States during 1860. "Chinese sugar" was especially desired for fodder for stock, particularly swine, *ibid.*, August 21, 1857.

During the Mexican War, at Rancho Santa Margarita of José Antonio Pico, the pioneer settler and trader, W. H. Davis, had marveled at sugar cane with stalks "nearly as large as my arm." His host let him cut and sample some. William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, p. 431.

43. Los Angeles *Star*, July 7, 1870.

44. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 36. Thompson and West, *History of Los Angeles County*, p. 62.

45. "Division of Pomology," *Report of the Secretary of Agriculture*, 1890, p. 421.

46. *California Farmer*, March 12, 1868. See also, W. C. Bartlett, "The Tropical Fruits of California," *Overland Monthly* I (September, 1868), 268.

47. *Pacific Rural Press*, XXXVI (October 20, 1888).

48. Edward J. Wickson, *The California Fruits and How to Grow Them*, p.

405. Ernest Branton, "Pineapples in California," *California Cultivator*, LIV (June 19, 1920), concludes that the California climate is not too hot but too dry for pineapples.

49. Joseph Weed, *A View of California As It Is*, pp. 113-14. See, *The Ramie Plant: Its Origin, Values, Advantages, Culture and Adaptability to the Soil and Climate of California*, (1870). *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society During the Years 1870 and 1871 in Appendix to the Journals of Senate and Assembly of the Nineteenth Session of the Legislature . . .*, (1872), III, 54; and W. G. Klee, "Report on Fruit and Miscellaneous Cultures," in University of California College of Agriculture, *Report of the Professor in Charge to the President* (1883), Appendix III, 112. Ramie, known as Chinese silk plant, is a six-foot shrub native to the Orient. It is not likely to compete with cotton in California or elsewhere in the United States. As late as 1926, Ernest Banton in the

*California Cultivator*, LXVI, 169, reported recent test growings in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys.

50. California Legislature, Twentieth Session, "Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture for the Year 1872," *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly* (1874), III, Report 3, p. 7.

51. *Sacramento Daily Record*, December 13, 1873, p. 8.

52. Flax is today a commercial crop in California, grown for seed used in producing linseed oil. In 1959, 222 farms with 37,922 acres and a production of 1,324,570 bushels of seed valued at \$3,841,253 were reported.

For a discussion of flax culture in the San Mateo and Santa Cruz areas, see, *Sacramento Reporter*, August 16, 1870. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, for reference to later production, VII, 31.

53. *Pacific Rural Press*, XXXIV (July 23, 1887), 58.

54. *Ibid.*, XIV (November 17, 1877), p. 305.

55. *Ibid.*, XXVI (November 17, 1883), 437. W. G. Klee emphasized the great care and cost in transplanting the cinchona tree. University of California, College of Agriculture, *Report of the Professor in Charge to the President* (1883), Appendix III, p. 103.

56. *San Francisco Bulletin*, January 23, 1857. The plant, *Papaver somniferum* is an annual with several strains. That with white seeds produced opium, while that of the black seed strain was raised in California's Yolo County for the seed, used as poppyseed in bakery products, Mr. H. M. Butterfield tells us. It is no longer permitted to be grown by federal authorities, since even this strain could produce opium.

57. Emanuel Weiss, "Hints as to the Development of Our California-China Trade," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XLVII (December, 1862), 522-26.

58. *Pacific Rural Press*, III (June 22, 1872) and XIII (April 28, 1877).

59. "The Opium Poppy," *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1870*, 206.

60. *Ibid.*, 210. By 1881 the United States and China by convention promised to stamp out the opium trade, but they failed to do so. During the Second World War the Japanese, and since 1949, the Communist Chinese, have used opium as a weapon to paralyze the will of their enemies.

61. John Brown, Jr., and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties*, II, 645.

62. "To Raise Opium," *Pacific Rural Press*, XXXVI (October 6, 1888), 285. See also: *California Mail Bag* (San Francisco), June, 1871, for "Opium Culture—A New Branch of Industry." The *Sacramento Union* for February 16, 1871, discusses opium poppy-growing at Gilroy.

63. James H. Carson, *Recollections of the California Mines*, p. 96. The federal tea farm in South Carolina had been supported by a Congressional appropriation since 1878, and by 1887 had become a national distributing center for plants and seeds for experimenters. As early as 1859, *Harper's Magazine* published an article

to encourage tea-growing in America and a most interesting map of proposed "tea belt," from Atlantic to Pacific south of 37°N. latitude and including all Southern California. Robert Fortune had sent to the Patent Office tea seeds and plants from China. Charles Nordhoff, "Tea Culture in the United States," *Harpers's New Monthly Magazine*, XIX (November, 1859), 762-70.

64. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 27, 1857. A state legislative committee during the Civil War desired the Chinese to stay in order to raise tea, rice, tobacco, and sugar. See, Paul S. Taylor, "Foundations of California Rural Society," *California Historical Society Quarterly* XXIV (1945), 206. See also, "Tea Culture in California," in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly of the Seventeenth Session of the Legislature of the State of California; Biennial Report of the Board of Agriculture of the State Agricultural Society for the Years 1866 and 1867*, pp. 14-15; and U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Special Report Number 18*, "Tea Culture as a Probable American Industry," (1879), p. 5.

65. *Weekly Alta California* (San Francisco) November 16, 1861, and *Pacific Sentinel* (Santa Cruz), August 30, 1856, for examples.

66. D. J. Browne, "Report on Seeds and Cuttings Recently Obtained by the Patent Office," in *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1855*, 34th Cong., First Session, Ex. Doc. 20. U.S. Senate, p. xliii. T. Hart Hyatt had similar misgivings; see, "Can the Tea Plant Be Cultivated in California?" *California Agriculturist*, V (July 1, 1874), 150.

67. T. A. Kendo, *Treatise on Silk and Tea Culture and Other Asiatic Industries Adapted to the Soil and Climate of California*, 63.

68. *Ibid.*, 65.

69. J. R. Dodge, ed., "Report of the Editor: Tea Culture in the United States," *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1869*, p. 235.

70. *Los Angeles Star*, May 7, 1870.

71. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1869.

72. *Pacific Rural Press*, XV (February 15, 1879).

73. P. Sioli, comp., *Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County, California*, p.

112. See A. Carr, *Illustrated Hand-Book of California*, p. 58, for an optimistic suggestion that with better steamer transportation from China to California, tea plants ought to survive.

74. Mary Cone, *Two Years in California*, pp. 171-72, and James M. Guinn, "Some Early California Industries That Failed," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* VII (1906), 8.

75. "Tea," *Country Gentleman*, XXII (September 3, 1863), 161.

76. C. A. Menefee, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino*, p. 198, and Isaac Collins, "Experience With Tea Plants," *California Horticulturist*, X (January, 1880), 7-8.

77. Collins, *op. cit.*, 8. See also, "Sam Brannan's Farm," *Sacramento Union*, May 21, 1872.

78. Joseph M. Walsh, *Tea: Its History and Mystery*, p. 261.

79. *Pacific Rural Press*, XX (October 30, 1880).
80. "The Tea Fever," *Pacific Rural Press*, XIV (October 13, 1877), 233. It was also suggested herein that if each tea consumer raised his own supply, the costly importation from the Orient would be diminished by millions of pounds annually. It is interesting to note that it was the Japanese, not the Chinese, who actually grew tea in China. Henry and Tom Domoto from Japan were brought over in 1883 by Anthony Chabot of Oakland, but their tea, like that of Schnell's Japanese, also failed, according to Mr. H. M. Butterfield.
81. "Cultivation of the Coffee Plant," *Overland Monthly* XIII (October, 1874), 323-29.
82. "California Coffee?" *Pacific Rural Press*, XIII (February 3, 1877), 73. See also, "Report of Superintendent of Gardens and Grounds," *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1887*, 675.
83. *Pacific Rural Press*, XIV (September 1, 1877), 136, and XIV (December 1, 1877), 337.
84. *Ibid.*, XIV (December 29, 1877), 402.
85. "Cultivation of the Coffee Plant," *op. cit.*, 329. See also, *Pacific Sentinel* (Santa Cruz), December 27, 1856.
86. Charles H. Shinn, "Coffee Again," *Pacific Rural Press*, XIII (June 9, 1877), 355.
87. "Coffee Growing," *Pacific Rural Press*, XIII (May 5, 1877), p. 280.
88. Cone, *op. cit.*, 171-172.
89. *Pacific Rural Press*, XV (March 22, 1879), p. 200.
90. *California Horticulturist*, VIII (April, 1878), 115.
91. *Weekly Alta California* (San Francisco), January 26, 1861.



## NEW BOOKS

*Isaias W. Hellman and the Farmers and Merchants Bank.* By Robert Glass Cleland and Frank B. Putnam. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1965. 136 pp. \$6.00.) Reviewed by Dwight L. Clarke.

Obviously from its title, this book was intended to be both a biography of a financier and the history of the bank he founded. Such dual aims can produce pitfalls. In this instance, biography comes off a very poor second as the book is much more a detailed chronicle of a notable institution than it is the story of Isaias W. Hellman.

Collaboration always involves some problems, especially as in this case where both authors died before their work was finished. Mary Jane Bragg, who completed the task, obviously labored under a handicap. Unity is bound to suffer since the differing objectives of biographer and corporate historian can easily clash.

The authors have sandwiched biographical paragraphs into the narrative of the bank. Instead of such piecemeal treatment, a preferable method would have been to devote one or more separate chapters to the man and thereby perhaps bring him to life. As the book now stands, Mr. Hellman remains a two dimensional statistic rather than a flesh and blood individual. The book is silent as to his personality. This reviewer once worked for a San Francisco institution headed by Isaias W. Hellman. I saw him frequently although I had no direct contacts with him. He seemed serious and stern—"all business," but several episodes and anecdotes involving a sardonic sense of humor convince me that a more lifelike picture could have been drawn of an outstanding man.

Today's large financial organizations known as investment bankers are a fairly recent development. A little earlier when there was no SEC, and only the rudiments of public utility commissions, the bond and preferred stock issues that financed the bulk of the West's street and electric interurban railways as well as the gas and hydroelectric utilities were usually floated by underwriting syndicates. Under that system the role of the syndicate manager was of vital importance. Not only was Isaias W. Hellman the head of the many banks and trust companies duly listed in this book, but in a great number, possibly the majority of these major flotations for several decades, he was the syndicate manager. His integrity and insistence on sound credit principles made him one of the real builders of the West to a degree that should have been more adequately reported in his biography.

The Farmers and Merchants Bank was a strongly individualized institution whose memory deserves preservation. This book recounts its history as would the well kept minute book of a good but dull corporate secretary. The names, dates and statistics are all there. It is a valuable reference source for such data.

Too little is told us about several exceedingly colorful officials of the bank

who filled significant roles in the Los Angeles of their day. In its eighty years the bank withstood runs and financial panics that were fatal to many of its competitors. Drama and suspense are inherent in such episodes. At least two embezzlements were as melodramatic as any thrill seeker could wish.

In the book's latter pages appear flashes of the conflict that ultimately resulted in Farmers and Merchants' honorable disappearance from today's banking field. With such staunch conservatives as Jackson Graves and Victor Rossetti at its helm, it resolutely turned its back not only on branch banking but on many less worthy, easy attitudes towards debt and credit. There is a hint of tragedy in the thought that adjustment to changing conditions was too hard a process for the bank's later leaders. Maybe consciousness of that fact cramped the writers' pens; perhaps they were still too close to 1956 to write the final chapter with complete candor.

There are a very few errors like (P. 45) "the Wilhardt Tract on the east [sic] side of the Los Angeles River between Main and Spring streets." Again, in summarizing Victor Rossetti's many activities, his long membership on the Southern Pacific's directorate is omitted. He was proud of his connection with the railroad and for many years was a familiar figure to passengers on the "Lark" as he traveled to and from board meetings with his old friend Ben Meyer.

Anderson, Ritchie & Simon have done their usual craftsman-like best as to format and typography.

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*Silver Theatre, Amusements of Nevada's Mining Frontier, 1850-1864.* By Margaret G. Watson. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1964. 387 pp. \$9.50.) Reviewed by Benjamin Draper.

The materials of theatrical history are largely ephemera in the most limited meaning of that word, most of them not even lasting until the next morning. Surviving programs, posters, and photographs are rare. Travel itineraries, scrap-books, and diaries of theatre folks are rarest. Few actors had permanent homes nor did they have room in the trunk tray for many mementoes. Members of the audience who saved souvenirs more often than not discarded them when the gold lettering tarnished or a new star appeared. Pioneer newspapers were at best brief on theatrical news. A show was advertised by word of mouth, a media which spread the news as rapidly as a fire on the prairie or in slabtown. The vociferous approval of audiences was seldom recorded after the fact. Newer events crowded it out of the next issue. Reviews which provide substance for theatrical history were rare indeed.

Such natural enemies of theatre historians have always eradicated details which are essential to adequate theatrical history. Published dates, names of plays and players, and plot and production details do not tell the essential story although a good deal that passes for theatre history is made up of just such bare

bones. The essence of theatre is that which takes place between actor and audience. Modern-fangled folks call it empathy. The historian who attempts to re-create such living history a hundred years later, with so little to go on, has an Herodotean task. Margaret Watson hasn't flinched. She hasn't come up with all these aspects but one has a sneaking suspicion that she has found practically everything extant.

Succeeding generations of theatre and social historians will find ample reason to be grateful to Miss Watson for her careful chronicles of fifteen years of pioneer theatre in Nevada, 1850-1864. Virginia City, in its later heyday, has been generously, vividly, and dashingy described by Clemmens and De Quille, Beebe and Clegg. But the earlier period has always been elusive of detail. Scarcity of record however has never diminished the importance of pioneer periods. Miss Watson has uncovered an incredible amount of bright information that relates to entertainment during these first years on the Comstock and environs. There were opera houses in Austin, Aurora, Carson, Genoa, Ione, and a half-dozen other places.

Players of this frontier period who journeyed to the Washoe were not all as famous as Edwin Forrest who made it to San Francisco but not over Donner Pass, or Jennie Lind, tradition to the contrary, who never set foot out here at all. In the pregaslight and calcium era, Junius Booth, Adah Menken, and starlets Frank Mayo and Lotta Crabtree were of a hardier breed than many who rode the cars in decades to come.

Bags of gold dust tossed over kerosene footlights to favorite performers! Did such stories lure actors West? Perhaps. The glitter of new money and lots of it bought great luxury for the mining camps. But theatre people, one opines, felt the same excitement and daring as other Americans, the same fired-up ambition to strike it rich. They roused to 'Westward the Path of Empire' even as your and my great grandfathers. Tragedian James Stark essayed the dual role in Nevada of actor and mining man. Surprising numbers of show folks invested in mines or retired to the West.

Theatrical ventures in Nevada were linked to San Francisco and Sacramento, travel between these centers being both regular and frequent, save in unseemly weather. The managerial genius of Tom Maguire, who operated theatres in all three places, was also a principal factor. Maguire's early and highly imaginative risks and daring are handsomely recorded by Miss Watson. One is roused by her account to wish Tom the success that was eventually his a decade and more later. He is the subject of a forthcoming biography by another California historian, Mrs. Virginia Lashley.

Miss Watson has prospected, divined, and then dug into literally hundreds of obscure sources for pay dirt. She has thoroughly canvassed collections and come up with nuggets that many historians would have thought couldn't have existed or survived. A painfully large portion of theatre history is found in passing references under other main headings. Her scholarly research has re-

sulted in rich rewards, useful contributions, and joy to readers and writers. The pages assay high.

Margaret G. Watson pays tribute to Dr. George McMinn whose steady hand has long been a force in theatrical research here in the West. Her list of sources and other acknowledgments attest dedication and determination. The publishers have happily included numerous illustrations which are helpful in theatre history since not only photographs reveal great detail but broadsides and playbills in that period usually gave synopses and other details. Type-faces and woodcuts make the period piece. These several unduplicated items and the excellent assembled-in-a-single-volume material make the work worth its somewhat steep price.

Miss Watson modestly describes herself as a librarian and teacher. As this reviewer adds, 'excellent historian and writer,' we are sure her grateful readers, if in church would say, 'Amen!', but since they are in the opera house, they will toss pokes of gold dust onto the stage as Miss Watson takes a bow.

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*The Indian in America's Past*. Edited by Jack D. Forbes. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964. 181 pp. Paper \$1.95.) Reviewed by Theodore Grivas.

Prentice Hall has once again published another extremely useful volume in its *Spectrum Book Series*. This is *The Indian in America's Past*, edited by Jack D. Forbes of the University of Nevada. Best described as a compendium on the role of the American Indian in United States history, Forbes' work quotes from scores of works, mainly original sources, dealing with Indian-Anglo American relations. These quotations vary from several sentences in length to a few that are several pages. It must be said, however, that for the most part continuity is maintained and the quotations are skillfully woven in a very interesting historical narrative.

That Forbes displays considerable bias, in this case on the *part* of the Indian, is evident by the choice of his quoted documents. Furthermore, it is evident in the narrative that he uses to connect various documents. Additionally, such chapter headings as "The Conquered," "Red Slavery," and "The Long Struggle," contribute to the strong bias.

In this unique approach Forbes deals with his subject very thoroughly. He "rings the changes" on all the colonial powers and their treatment of the American Indian, wending his way through to the disgraceful Anglo-American Indian relationships. One hears the pleas of various Indian chiefs from Powhatan to Black Elk and others.

Typical of those who have been captivated by their subject, Forbes is duped into making some wild, totally unsupported generalizations. Few will deny that the United States treatment of Indians was anything but inhumane and at times brutal. That the reservation system was a failure few would quarrel with. But



to categorically state that Hitler and Stalin used the reservation system of the United States as a blueprint for their concentration camps and wholesale murder is an example of dubious scholarship. There are a few other references along this line, but fortunately they are few.

By far the most interesting and significant part of the study is the section dealing with the relationship between American-Europeans and interracial groups such as the Mexican-Americans, French-Canadian Métis, Puerto Ricans, and others. The documents quoted in this section are all very interesting and point up the cultural diffusion of native American Indian stock with that of the European, this ranging from Russian, English, Spanish, and even Greek. Bruten Barrie's work, *Almost White*, published in 1963, apparently appeared too close to the publication of Forbes' book for it to be utilized in his section on race mixture.

There is no doubt the value of such a study as *The Indian in America's Past*. Although one may quarrel about the quotations and documents used and their brevity at times, it does introduce the student to the basic documents dealing with Indian-white relationships—a much-neglected topic in American history. In this respect Forbes has, as others have before him, called attention to a topic that needs the undivided attention of scholars in the social sciences.

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*Earthquake Country*. By Robert Iacopi. Foreword by Dr. Charles F. Richter. (Menlo Park, California: Lane Book Company, 1964. 192 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

Californians are always talking about earthquakes. Now one Californian, author Robert Iacopi, has done something about earthquakes.

Under three broad topics—"Why California has Earthquakes," "Traveling along California's Earthquake Faults," and "Prospects for the Future"—Mr. Iacopi tells everything that the layman need know about the past, the present, and the future of California's awesome earthquake situation. A proper evaluation of the contents of this handsome volume can be made only by a seismologist. The foreword does that job briefly, for it presents the favorable reaction of Dr. Richter who adds "that there simply is no locality in California which is exempt from earthquake risk."

From the point of view of the general reader, to whom the book is addressed, the essence of *Earthquake Country* is that earthquakes are a part of California's heritage and that Californians must learn to live with them—intelligently. Lavish with tell-tale photographs, maps, diagrams, and charts, the volume properly gives greatest attention to the San Andreas Fault, with adequate space devoted to other active faults.

Comfortingly the author tells his readers that California has earthquakes for the same reason it has much of its magnificent scenery. "The state is broken into

a series of crustal blocks that are separated by faults—great fractures that form lines of weakness in the masses of rock at the earth's surface." The faults are described in detail and we are taken on an exploration trip the length of the mighty San Andreas.

The historical presentation is particularly interesting. The so-called San Francisco earthquake of 1906—with Santa Rosa the city hardest hit—though not the heaviest, is ranked first in lives lost and in property damage. The so-called Long Beach earthquake of 1933, though "not a very strong" one, was a major disaster because of the heavy concentrations of commercial buildings and private residences on "poor land." It was next to the 1906 quake in destructive effects. Since 1906 the largest earthquake in California struck the Tehachapi-Bakersfield area in 1952.

In recorded history, the author regards the Owens Valley earthquake of 1872 as California's largest. Because of the sparse settlement of the region only sixty deaths were caused. The valley shook continuously for several days, and fish were thrown out of the Owens River upon the bank.

Mr. Iacopi lays emphasis on the earthquake of 1857, described by him as the strongest ever to hit Southern California. He hints that, under a hypothetical hundred-year cycle, a repetition is overdue. Here, it seems to this reviewer, he does not present facts that prove his case. He has relied, admittedly, on "personal letters, military reports, and scattered newspaper stories." Granted that the adobe buildings at Fort Tejon—near the epicenter—were cracked or knocked down. How was it that Southern California's historic two-story adobe ranch and town houses survived? Did the author take into consideration the fact that the boom of the early 1850s—stimulated by the rise in cattle prices—caused ranchers and townsmen in and around the Los Angeles, the Santa Barbara, and the San Diego country to add second stories or to go in for new two-story buildings of *adobe*? Did not these structures survive this "greatest" quake? Was it the greatest? Also, contemporary, personal accounts of the 1952 quake—occurring 95 years after the 1857 one—qualify it as meeting the requirements of the hypothetical century cycle.

Intriguing and most useful, the volume is appropriately closed with a chapter entitled "What To Do When the Next Big One Hits."

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*History of California, Volume I, 1542-1800.* By Hubert Howe Bancroft. A facsimile reprint of Volume XVIII of *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, with an introduction by Edmund G. Brown. (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebbard, 1963. 744 pp. \$15.00.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

The Works of Hubert Bancroft are monumental achievements of a self-trained historian, which, despite their inadequacies historiographically, have

passed the hardest test of all—the test of time. This reprint of Volume I of Bancroft's seven volume *California* embraces the period from discovery to 1800 in a most detailed and comprehensive form. There is little that a reviewer can say concerning Bancroft's *California*. Those who have used it need no additional words to describe it, while those who have not had access to it need only be told that it is "basic." The work is the most detailed account, with the fullest documentation, of any of the early pioneer histories. One starts California history with Bancroft and corrects, modifies, clarifies, and expands; but one never can overlook him. Rare indeed is the topic for the period of Volume I concerning which Bancroft did not have considerable knowledge.

Publisher Wallace Hebbard has produced a facsimile of the original, and the type is clear, without the fuzziness found in many such reprintings. This volume should be used with the same care and enthusiasm as the original; the reprinting at this time representing a reflection that the price of the original edition has after many years finally reached the point where a publisher is willing to risk investment in a new printing. May success crown such efforts!

An introduction to the present printing, constituting the only alteration, is provided by California Governor Edmund G. Brown. This questionable procedure of having some political figure (regardless of partisan considerations) write an introduction to a state history seems to be enjoying a current vogue. At best this is risky for both politico and publisher. In less than eight hundred words of introduction Governor Brown falls into several snares. "California has had some eminent historians, but Hubert Howe Bancroft ranks as the greatest," is only a little short of heresy. Certainly Bolton, Hammond, and Cleland are greater historians; had the word collector or compiler been used it would have been more susceptible of proof. Brown's admonition that "All people interested in the early history of California before statehood and during the formative years of this state as the thirty-first star in the American flag must read this masterpiece of Hubert Howe Bancroft" is not realistic. Bancroft is not the type of work that one reads off-hand as a novel; it is like the Bible, a book to be used for study. Few modern readers could sit down and devour any volume of Bancroft. The outdated allusions, the references to classical mythology, and the many value judgments would overpower him. But as a reference book to be used to study the state's history, it has incalculable value. It is in this framework of its usefulness to scholarship and study that it should be judged and will pass the test.

In addition to the text and copious footnotes, *California, Volume I*, contains a sixty-four page listing of "Authorities Quoted" in all seven volumes, and a thirteen page listing of inhabitants of California to 1800. Coupled with the 732 pages of text, the volume is an essential tool for the study of California's Spanish period, and a welcome addition to any library previously without it.

*William Wolfskill, 1798-1866, Frontier Trapper to California Ranchero.* By Iris Higbie Wilson. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1965. 268 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Andrew Rolle.

Startling as is the constant publication of new books about California, relatively few biographies have been written about what might be called its "pre-pioneers." These were settlers who arrived long before most of the covered wagon migrants—about which we have heard perhaps too much. William Wolfskill, a Kentucky land trapper and sea otter hunter, was representative of those American pre-Gold Rush settlers who modified California's Hispanic society and life. Wolfskill first arrived at Los Angeles in 1831. In the southern part of the province, he and such men as Abel Stearns, Benjamin D. Wilson, Jonathan Trumbull Warner, and John Temple brought American trading and agriculture practices into the sleepy pastoral province. This group has been slighted in favor of Spanish or Mexican personalities, later overland migrants, or still later business developers.

Dr. Wilson, in a superb adaptation of her Master of Arts thesis, allows Wolfskill's story to mirror the sixty-six years of epochal growth in which he participated. Those years were characterized by vast shifts in transportation, agriculture, commerce, and population as California was transformed from a frontier province to an American state. Part of this change toward United States control featured the transfer of California's land holding from rancheros to its new rulers, including Wolfskill. The former trapper became a most successful land speculator, in both Northern and Southern California. He acquired Rancho Santa Anita, where he experimented with growing eucalyptus trees. Later, he owned the Rancho San Francisco, site of present-day Newhall, Rancho Lomas de Santiago, and Santiago de Santa Ana in Orange County as well as various commercial properties throughout the state. On these ranches he raised cattle. At Los Angeles Wolfskill began the first commercial orange grove; he also improved upon the flourishing vineyard of the Frenchman Luis Vignes. During the 1840's Wolfskill also took part in the municipal government of Los Angeles in that little-understood period of the city's history. In the 1850's he was one of the first city councilmen of the American era—clearly a transitional figure. Rightfully known as a "man of indomitable will, industry and self-denial," Wolfskill combined resourcefulness and intelligence in an exceptional way. He was successful, in other words, not only because of the unusual opportunities that crossed his path.

Based upon manuscripts, government documents, and newspapers as well as periodical articles and books, this volume is neither a light-weight undertaking nor a ponderous piece of antiquarianism. It is precisely what the professional scholar is trained to produce—an imaginative, authoritative, narrative and analysis. In short, the book is a genuine contribution to the history of California as seen in the life of an unusual "pre-pioneer."



*A History of the Californias*. By Philip S. Rush. (San Diego: The Southern California Rancher, 1964. Second Edition, 277 pp. \$6.00). Reviewed by Thomas F. Andrews.

California's rich and varied history has enjoyed a succession of illustrious interpreters. Bancroft, Bolton, Chapman, Hunt, Cleland, Richman, and Caughey are but a few of the writers who have contributed substantial works of scholarly merit. Philip Rush, publisher of *The Southern California Rancher*, has attempted a grand synthesis of this tremendous body of material in his survey of the Californias. Purposely avoiding political history, the author has chosen instead to give the reader a sweeping "chronological record of the main facts that make the Californias what they are today." Rush chooses to treat his subject as three regions—Northern, Southern, and Baja California—instead of the customary two.

In the space of only 259 pages, the author fires a vast "compilation of facts and data" at the reader. After an opening sketch of prehistoric times, Rush describes the explorations, the establishment of the missions, and the Spanish settlement of the Californias. An examination of the land as a Mexican province follows with heavy emphasis placed upon the years of unrest between 1840 and the American conquest. California since statehood occupies the remaining half of the book, and special attention is given to railroad development, agricultural changes, transportation problems, and the effects of the two world wars.

Although the book has several commendable features—it is handsomely bound, modestly priced, and contains important information on population and state officials in the addenda—its general effectiveness is marred by numerous errors. Throughout the early chapters, for example, the author has used "Fra" incorrectly as a title for the Spanish priests in California. Spanish names also have been corrupted into "de Vaca" and "de Anza," and Fray Agustín's name is misspelled. A more careful proofreading would have eliminated the several typographical errors and the use of "ostensively" for "ostensibly" (pp. 73, 77). Names of ships have not been italicized, and there is no table of contents. These mistakes detract from the book's value; however they are minor points and can be corrected rather easily in a future edition.

Of greater concern to the reader is the lack of balance and continuity. While twelve pages are given to the 1846-47 activities surrounding the Bear Flag Revolt, only five, for example, are allotted either to the Mexican period before 1846 or to the influence of nearly three decades of gold mining in the state. In addition, such important events as the overland expedition of Jedediah Smith, the election of Leland Stanford as "War Governor," and the progressive triumph of Hiram W. Johnson, to name a few, receive less attention than the Viet Cong attack on U. S. destroyers off the Gulf of Tonkin (p. 259). That Rush's account of the Californias is more a compilation of data than a history is noticeable in the latter half of the book where page after page of facts are lightly tossed together in one-sentence paragraphs. A quick glance at the chapter headings also will

indicate that his approach is topical rather than chronological. The chapter on "Electricity," for example, is followed by "The Atomic Age," "Oil and the Automobile," and "The Spanish-American War." Moreover, the chapter on the Second World War follows the chapter on the First.

With the absence of both footnotes and bibliography it is especially regrettable that the volume fails to live up to the author's promise of a "chronological history of the three Californias." Nevertheless, the book is easy to read, and Rush has infused into the narrative something of his own enthusiasm for the subject. The general reader will find portions of the book both interesting and instructive.

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*A Selective Bibliography of California Labor History.* By Mitchell Slobodek. (Los Angeles: University of California, 1964. 265 pp. \$4.00.) Reviewed by Gerald D. Nash.

Since World War II the number of books and articles concerned with labor history has mushroomed, as historians, economists, and sociologists have given increasing attention to the field. Although much of their work has centered on national issues, they have by no means ignored state and local developments. Nevertheless, many promising topics dealing with the labor history of the states still await fuller exploration. Before research tasks in this area can be clearly formulated, however, it is necessary to have an inventory of scattered writings already available. This bibliography makes an effort in this direction by listing many works relevant to the labor history of California.

The scope of this compilation is wide. While it contains a short section on California's Spanish-Mexican era, its prime emphasis is on the listing of books, articles and theses about the American period. Approximately one-half of the compilation contains bibliographic references relating to industrial and trade unions, arranged according to particular industries. Other sections deal with special labor groups such as white collar workers, women and children, convicts, and ethnic minorities. The compiler has also included works on labor laws and their judicial interpretation in California. An interesting section also contains references to labor fiction. Conveniently, most of the selections are briefly annotated. The arrangement of topics does not seem to follow a logical order, but a detailed table of contents and a serviceable index provide guidance for the reader.

As a work of reference this volume is not without its weaknesses. In the first place, it is not definitive. The bibliography was compiled from library resources in the San Francisco Bay area, and contains no listing of resources to be found elsewhere. It is more than likely, however, that the usefulness of this compilation would have been greatly enhanced if, for example, it had included items from the rich holdings of institutions in Southern California. Moreover, many worth-

while theses and dissertations emanating from colleges and universities in that area deserved to be listed. Secondly, the compiler's decision not to include manuscript sources for California labor history restricts the book's utility for researchers. Finally, the compiler has not indicated what criteria he used for the inclusion of listings. Some may wonder why significant works, such as Gunther Barth's study of the Chinese in California, are strangely missing.

Despite flaws, in the absence of any similar volume this is destined to be a useful reference tool. As an inventory of research in the field it can help to open new avenues for investigation. A perusal of the contents brings many of these to mind, such as needed histories of statewide and local unions, of state labor policies, and the role of the California courts in shaping labor relations. Until a more definitive bibliography on the subject appears this one will be an aid to students of labor in California and the West.

# Book of Remembrance

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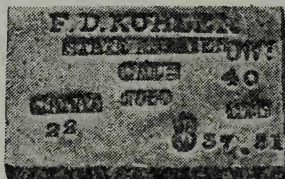


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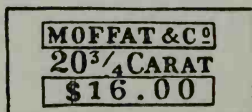
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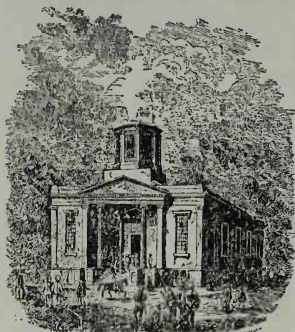
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# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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Bret Harte in Union (1857-1860)

By LYNWOOD CARRANCO

The *Camanche*: First Monitor of the Pacific

By ROBERT RYAL MILLER

The Religious Ardor of Peter H. Burnett

California's First American Governor

By WILLIAM E. FRANKLIN

Soldiers Under Stephen Watts Kearny

By DWIGHT L. CLARKE

A Study of Graduate Research in California History  
in California Colleges and Universities—Part VII

By PAMELA A. BLEICH

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JUNE 1966

## A MAJOR PUBLISHING EVENT...

With great pride the California Historical Society announces the completion and publication in one volume of

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Volumes One to Forty  
1922-1961

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CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
2090 JACKSON STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94109

# California Historical Society Quarterly

2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

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The *California Historical Society Quarterly* is published quarterly, in March, June, September, and December. Subscription price included in membership dues. Second-class postage paid at Pasadena, California. Contents copyrighted, 1966, by the California Historical Society. Office of publication: El Molino Viejo, 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, California 91108.

Postmaster: Send 3579 to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109.

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# Bret Harte in Union (1857-1860)

By LYNWOOD CARRANCO

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ALTHOUGH HE WAS born in New York State and lived most of his life there and in Europe, Bret Harte is remembered as the man who made the West a favorite realm of fiction. As a young man he went to California, had a brief experience as a miner, and then became a San Francisco journalist. His real fame came while he was editor of *The Overland Monthly*, and it was in this periodical that his most popular works first appeared.

"The Luck of Roaring Camp" made an immediate appeal, and it is still the favorite among his stories. Not only was it one of the first literary presentations of a colorful section of the country, but it exploited the popular conception that rough exteriors hide hearts of gold. Harte's other two successful stories followed this formula of nobility coming out in desperate characters. The sacrificial deaths of a prostitute and a gambler are told in "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," and in "Tennessee's Partner" Harte relates the beautiful friendship between a highway robber and his rough partner.

Where did he get much of his information and background for his stories? Union—now Arcata, Humboldt County—was the town in Northern California where Bret Harte spent three years—1857 to 1860. This period has been described as the "Three Lost Years of Bret Harte's Life."<sup>1</sup> Here in Union Harte gained much experience in writing and frontier life, but for the remainder of his life he cared little to discuss this part of his life because of the unfortunate circumstances which had occurred.

At the age of twenty-one Harte came by steamer to Union from San

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PROFESSOR LYNWOOD CARRANCO, formerly an associate professor of English at Humboldt State College, is currently chairman of the English Department at The College of the Redwoods, Eureka. Professor Carranco has published scholarly articles in the *Pacific Historical Review*, *The Journal of the West*, *American Speech*, *American Heritage*, and *Western Folklore*.

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Francisco to see his sister, Margaret Wyman.<sup>2</sup> The settlement, numbering approximately five hundred inhabitants, was called Union or Uniontown, although later in March, 1860, the name would be changed to Arcata. The town stood at the northern end of Humboldt Bay, snuggled against the first ridge of the Coast Mountains, and in 1857—only seven years removed from the wilderness—consisted of one brick building and many of wood. There were the usual dirt streets, a church or two, stores, saloons, and a long pier extending out across the tide flats. A few tall redwoods stood in the outskirts, and some great stumps—ten to fourteen feet in diameter—studded the town. To the south were the mud flats and the bay. On the other sides there was a narrow fringe of cleared land and beyond that one of the most magnificent forests in the world—unbroken miles of gigantic redwoods.

There were some logging, farming, and cattle raising in the vicinity, but the town really existed as a point of reshipment. Goods were unloaded from the steamers and forwarded by pack train to the populous mining district on the Trinity River.<sup>3</sup> This traffic, however, was already declining and the town was threatened with ruin because shippers had discovered a cheaper route by way of Red Bluff, the head of navigation on the Sacramento River.<sup>4</sup>

The people of Union were a varied group. Indians lounged about, peaceful and dirty, demoralized by the sudden disruption of their normal life. Rough cattlemen and mule packers loitered in the saloons. Miners passed through on their way to the mines, or came to town to spend their gold on a drunk. There was also a small class of stable and respectable people who carried on the business and professional life, went to church, sent their children to school, attended the Lyceum debates, and worked toward the establishment of a civilized community.

What were the conditions in this rugged country of northwestern California? The struggle between the Indian and the white man was long and bloody and raged from 1851 to 1865. The peak of the Indian "wars" in Northern California was reached during the Civil War, and did not come to a climax until 1865.

The frontier has always had a noble, vigorous, intelligent, hardy pioneer population, but at the same time it has had a mean, shiftless, ignorant, vicious, and treacherous element of brutes, who boasted that they were white men and were armed ready to back up their assertions.



This class on all our frontiers has been the main cause of many of the Indian troubles, and Humboldt County was no exception. They ran rough-shod over all the Indians' rights: they stole and outraged his women, and they shot him down if he raised the slightest objection. Some Indian tribes had vigor enough to resent such mistreatment and took revenge. In such cases innocent whites often suffered severely for their inability to control the vicious element of their own race.

Here in Humboldt County the Indians made but little resistance, yet were frequently killed for the most trivial of causes. Not only was there the occasional killing of small numbers of Indians, but between 1850 and 1873 a considerable number of slaughters, either by state troops or by unauthorized "volunteer companies," occurred on such a scale as to be dignified by the term of "Indian Wars."<sup>5</sup>

A common practice of these companies was to make a daybreak attack on some Indian ranchería and kill all its inhabitants without regard to age or sex, unless perhaps they spared one or two of the younger females of pleasing appearance to take along with them.

Often a few men followed these companies for the special purpose of taking possession of young women or children whose parents were killed, and selling them in the centers of population either for immoral purposes or as servants.<sup>6</sup> According to a state law Indians could be made apprentices or indentured to citizens for terms of ten to fifteen years. It may or may not have been intended for the good of the Indians to teach them the arts of civilization, but in practice it encouraged the kidnapping and sanctioned virtual slavery for the young and able-bodied, while the old and worn-out were left to shift for themselves.

Humboldt County had its full share of hunters, cattle thieves, and kidnappers; and several campaigns, similar to examples given, were conducted in the Bald Hills—northeast of Humboldt Bay—during the years from 1858 to 1864. These campaigns led to the undoing of the Wiyot or Coast Indians who lived on the land in and around the bay.

The Indians in the mountains east of the bay were described as having more spirit than the Indians about Humboldt Bay. These Indians committed depredations in order to survive. The Americans had slaughtered their game, and then had brought cattle to their prairies which ate up their supply of seeds for food.

Campaigns by volunteer companies, state troops, and federal troops

continued for several years against the Bald Hills Indians because of their depredations on the stock. Prisoners were taken to the reservations and starved and abused until they returned to their native haunts, only to be chased off again to some reservation in a fresh campaign.

Reports can be found of one white man on the Van Duzen River who boasted of having killed sixty infants with his own hatchet at different slaughtering grounds.<sup>7</sup> This vicious white man was a leader and model of a certain class of settlers on the Van Duzen and Eel rivers, just south of Eureka. These men not only went about the country attacking villages at early dawn and slaughtering the inhabitants of all ages and sexes, but they threatened and terrorized their more peaceable white neighbors.<sup>8</sup> The sheriff and the editor of the *Humboldt Times* of Eureka, the county seat, were their friends; and they became so bold that certain of their number threatened to "clean out" the small number of federal soldiers who had been sent to Eel River in answer to a petition of the better class of citizens desiring protection for both themselves and the friendly Indians.<sup>9</sup>

Such were the conditions between the whites and Indians when Bret Harte lived in Union. Charles A. Murdock recalled their association at that time:

He was twenty one and I was sixteen, so there was little intimacy, but he interested and attracted me as a new type of manhood. He bore the marks of good breeding, education, and refinement. He was quiet of manner, kindly, but not demonstrative, with a certain reserve and aloofness. He was of medium height rather slight of figure, with strongly marked features and an aquiline nose. . . . He had a very pleasant voice . . . and never talked of himself. . . . He was dressed in good taste, but was evidently in need of income. He was willing to do anything. . . . He was simply untrained for doing anything that needed doing in that community.<sup>10</sup>

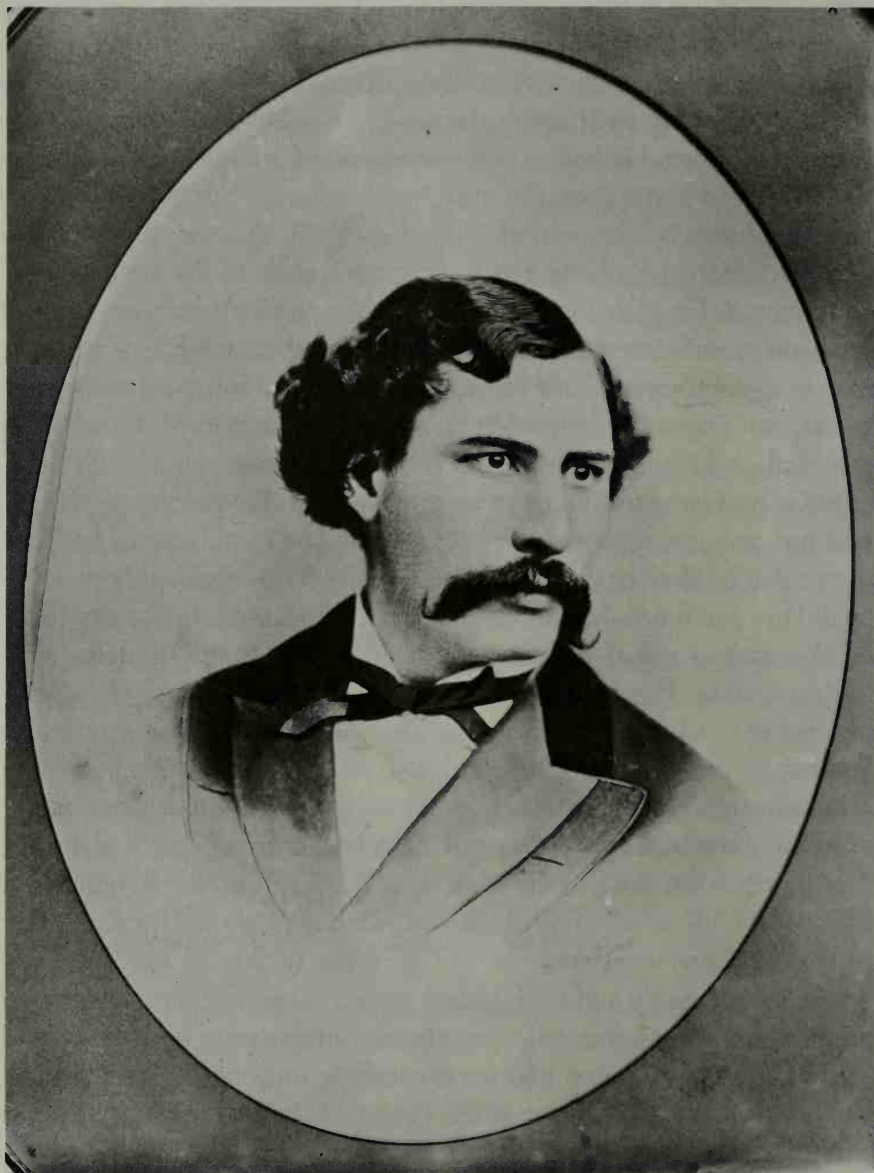
At first Harte found occasional work in the drugstore, and for a time he had a small private school. He had little mechanical ability, according to Murdock, who recalled an incident: "He bravely dug postholes, but they were pretty poor, and the completed fence was not very straight."<sup>11</sup> Harte was an agreeable guest, and was fond of playing whist. He also had a sense of humor. One day while Harte and Murdock were walking together, they passed a new house "destitute of all ornaments or trim-

ming" which resembled a packing box. "That," Harte remarked, "must be of the Iowan order of architecture."<sup>12</sup>

In October, 1857, he went to the Liscom ranch in the "bottom" at the head of the bay and became the tutor of two boys, fourteen and thirteen years of age. He had a forenoon session of school and in the afternoon enjoyed hunting on the near-by sloughs. For his convenience in keeping lessons he kept a brief diary. George R. Stewart, in his biography, *Bret Harte Argonaut and Exile*, reveals most of the important information.<sup>13</sup> The diary is of interest both in the little he recorded and from the significant omissions. It shows a very simple life of a young man who did his work, enjoyed his outdoor recreation, read a few good books, and generally "retired by 9:30 p.m." His entries were brief and practical, and he did not write to express his feelings.

Socially, Harte continued to enjoy himself and to get along well. He was not popular with the rougher part of the population. His diary shows that he liked to drink whiskey with his friends in their homes, but he did not patronize the saloons and drink with the cattlemen and packers. Because of this they sneered at his fine clothes and thought him a snob as well as effeminate. But Harte had many friends among the leading citizens: Charles Murdock admired him, and he was a welcome guest at the home of Alexander Brizard, whose trading posts were scattered throughout the mountainous country of Humboldt County.<sup>14</sup>

In 1858 the leading citizens of Union began to view with alarm the decline of their town and the advance of its rival, Eureka, eight miles to the south. Union had enjoyed the early lead among the Humboldt Bay towns. The first consideration had been the facility in supplying the mines on the Trinity and the Klamath rivers. All goods were transported by pack trains, and the trails over the mountains were nearer the head of the bay. Lumber soon became the leading industry, and the mills at Eureka were on deep water at the center of the bay, making that the natural shipping point. Two years before, Eureka had captured the county seat; now the county's only newspaper followed. The people of Union decided that they needed some type of journal to make up for the lost Humboldt *Times*, for even a small weekly would increase their town's prestige and give publicity to the project of a wagon road to the Trinity River, which might restore to Union the reshipment trade. Colonel S. G. Whipple and Major Charles Murdock founded *The*



*Courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers*

BRET HARTE

Shortly after his meteoric rise to fame



*Northern Californian*, a small four-page country weekly, which had a brief but colorful existence. The office was in a small frame building facing the Plaza which was approximately in the center of town.<sup>15</sup>

Bret Harte at twenty-two was hired as a printer's devil, but later began to help with the editorial work. Murdock told how this happened:

My father was a half owner, and I coveted the humble position of printer's devil. One journeyman could set the type, and on Wednesday and Saturday respectively, run off on a handpress the outside and inside of the paper, but a boy or a low-priced man was needed to roll the forms and likewise to distribute the type. I looked upon it as the first rung on the ladder of journalism, and I was about to put my foot thereon when the pathetic figure of Bret Harte presented itself applying for the job, causing me to put my foot on my hopes instead. He seemed to want it and need it so much more than I did that I turned my hand to other pursuits, while he mounted the ladder with cheerful alacrity and skipped up several rungs, very promptly learning to set type and becoming a very acceptable assistant editor.<sup>16</sup>

Within a year Harte was almost an associate editor, since Colonel Whipple had to leave often on business. Harte was left in full charge and accepted the responsibility willingly. He was very happy in his surroundings, and he wrote constantly. While much of his writings during this time was unsigned, it can easily be identified by one familiar with his style.<sup>17</sup> And across the stage of this frontier town passed the miners, the gamblers, the traders, the prostitutes—the outcasts.

Harte's peaceful writing days on the paper were suddenly interrupted in a dramatic manner. Harte was left in charge when Colonel Whipple went to San Francisco on business trips. Whipple left for San Francisco again at the end of February, 1860, leaving Harte in charge as usual. There had been disturbing news from Eureka on Sunday, and on Monday the Colonel stopping there en route sent back a report for the paper. What had happened was the climactic act of barbarity and inhumanity on the part of a half dozen vicious whites from the southern part of the county.

From the earliest times of settlement in California and Oregon, Indians had been killed for the most trivial of causes. All the newspapers during the years previous to 1860 teemed with the words "annihilation" and "extermination."<sup>18</sup> The popular doctrine of Manifest Destiny supported this philosophy. This meant that the Anglo-Saxons—the

chosen people—should kill the original inhabitants and possess the land.

The Indians had their friends among the newspapers as well as among individual whites, and these people tried to protect the Indians. On the other hand there were newspapers that openly advocated extermination. These poisoned public opinion by developing race prejudice and charging every possible crime against the Indians. Thus shielded and encouraged, the rougher element among the whites gradually went from bad to worse.

The storekeepers and stable townspeople remained on good terms with the peaceful Wiyot Indians, but back in the mountainous country both whites and Indians were growing bitter and violent in action. The sight of an occasional murdered settler gave the cattlemen and the general riffraff of the frontier ample excuse for shooting Indians.

The Wiyot tribe on the coast were harmless, but were thought to be allied with the belligerent mountain tribes. Nevertheless, an Indian was an Indian. There was a large *ranchería* of peaceful Indians on an island—now called Gunther Island—separated from the town of Eureka by only a narrow channel. At the end of February the inhabitants of the island and nearby *rancherías* celebrated a religious festival which called for a three-day feast and a dance. At the end of the ordeal the exhausted Indians lay down to sleep.

About four o'clock Sunday morning five or six men came to the island armed with guns, hatchets, and knives. The tired Indians were caught sleeping in their houses. Mercilessly the men used their hatchets on the old and young: women, children, and infants. The men knew—apparently for religious reasons—that most of the men had left the island. Their work was rapid and efficient. They killed approximately sixty Indians, mostly women and children, either sleeping or attempting to escape.<sup>19</sup> Two other *rancherías*, one on the South Beach near the entrance to the bay and one near the mouth of Eel River, were visited on the same night, in the same stealthy manner and with the same result. This was the famous massacre of February 26, 1860, reports of which were even printed in the newspapers of New York City.

When Colonel Whipple sent back his report and continued on to San Francisco, he placed Harte in a desperate situation. Harte did not visit the island which could be seen from Union, but he saw the mangled corpses unloaded from canoes as the remnant of the Mad River Indians

passed through Union bearing home their dead. He was shocked when he saw the brutally mutilated bodies, and it made him furious to think that people of his own race could be such barbarians.

The excitement was intense. Could Harte publish what he felt? In the absence of his boss, he could decline to comment editorially on the shocking event. The massacre was on Sunday, and the paper was to appear on Wednesday. Harte knew the situation: he could expect some support from the townspeople, but the packers, miners, cattlemen, and loggers disliked the Indians and cared little for him. And the rougher element would not hesitate to shoot or lynch a writer who dared to oppose them.

On February 29 *The Northern Californian* left no doubt of what Harte thought of the massacre and its perpetrators. He bitterly attacked the whites responsible for the outrage. In bold type he headed his editorial:

INDISCRIMINATE MASSACRE OF INDIANS  
WOMEN AND CHILDREN BUTCHERED<sup>20</sup>

The names of the murderers were not mentioned in the account, but the words used left no doubt of Harte's feelings:

Our Indian troubles have reached a crisis. Today we record acts of Indian aggression and white retaliation. It is a humiliating fact that the parties who may be supposed to represent white civilization have committed the greater barbarity. But before we review the causes that have led to this crowning act of reckless desperation, let us remind the public at a distance from this savage-ridden district, that the secrecy of this indiscriminate massacre is an evidence of its disavowal and detestation by the community. The perpetrators are yet unknown.

The friendly Indians about the bay have been charged with conveying arms and ammunition to the mountain tribes, and receiving slaughtered beef as a reward. A class of hard-working men who derive their subsistence by cattle raising have been the greatest sufferers, and if in the blind fury of retaliation they spare neither age or sex, though they cannot be excused, a part of the blame should fall upon that government which places the responsibility of self defense on the injured party. . . . If the deed was committed by responsible parties, we will give place to any argument that may be offered in justification. But we cannot conceive of no palliation for women and child slaughter. We can conceive of no wrong that a babe's blood can atone for. Perhaps we do not rightly understand the doctrine of "extermination." . . . What amount of suffering it takes to make a man a babe-killer, is a question for future moralists. What will justify it, should be a question of

present law. . . . An "irrepressible conflict" is really here. Knowing this, was the policy to commence the work of extermination with the *most peaceful*? And what assistance can be expected from a legislature already perplexed with doubts and suspicion, in the face of the bloody record we today publish? . . . But when the facts were generally known, it appeared that out of some 60 or 70 killed on the Island, at least 50 or 60 were women and children. Neither age or sex had been spared. Little children and old women were mercilessly stabbed and their skulls crushed with axes. When the bodies were landed at Union, a more shocking and revolting spectacle never was exhibited to the eyes of a Christian and civilized people. Old Women wrinkled and decrepit lay weltering in blood, their brains dashed out and dabbled with their long grey hair. Infants scarce a span long, with their faces cloven with hatchets and their bodies ghastly with wounds. We gathered from the survivors that four or five white men attacked the ranches at about four o'clock in the morning, which statement is corroborated by people at Eureka who heard pistol shots at about the same time, although no knowledge of the attack was public. With the Indians who lived on the Island, some thirty from the mouth of Mad River were staying, having attended a dance the evening previous. They were all killed with the exception of some few who hid themselves during the massacre. No resistance was made, it is said, to the butchers who did the work, but as they ran or huddled together for protection like sheep, they were struck down with hatchets. Very little shooting was done, most of the bodies having wounds about the head. The bucks were mostly absent, which accounts for the predominance of female victims.

On Monday we received a statement from our Senior, at Eureka en route for San Francisco. He says that about nine o'clock he visited the Island, and there a horrible scene was presented. The bodies of 36 women and children, recently killed, lay in and near the several ranches. They were of all ages from the child of but two or three years to the old skeleton squaw. From appearances most of them must have been killed with axes or hatchets—as the heads and bodies of many were gashed, as with such an instrument. It was a sickening and pitiful sight. Some five or six were still alive and one old woman was able to talk, though dreadfully wounded. Dr. Lee visited them and dressed the wounds of those alive. . . . It is not generally known that more than three bucks were killed, though it is supposed there must have been 15 or 20. It is thought that the bodies of the men were taken away by Indians early this morning as four canoes were seen to leave the Island.

On the beach south of the entrance it is reported that from 30 to 50 were killed. It is also reported, that at Bucksport, all were killed that were there. I passed in sight of them about 11 o'clock and saw the ranches on fire. It is also said that the same has been done at the several ranches on Eel river.

No one seems to know who was engaged in this slaughter, but it is supposed to have been men who have suffered from depredations so long on the Eel river and vicinity.

Indian Island is scarcely one mile from Eureka the County seat of Humboldt



County. With the exception of the conjectures that the Indians on this Island offer aid and assistance to mountain Indians, they are peaceful and industrious, and seem to have perfect faith in the good will of the whites. Many of them are familiar to our citizens. "Bill," of Mad river,<sup>21</sup> a well-known and intelligent fellow, has proven a faithful ally to the white men on several occasions and has had his wife, mother, sister, two brothers, and two little children cruelly butchered by men of that race whom he had learned to respect and esteem.<sup>22</sup>

It was never publicly known who the white men were who were engaged in the crime, since none were brought to trial. Many were suspected, but they were shielded by persons of position and authority. No one dared to accuse these men openly. The most that was ever done to promote justice was the writing of numerous anonymous letters to the San Francisco newspapers. From these letters it appeared that some of the murderers were from the Eel River region and some were members of Seaman Wright's Company of Volunteers.<sup>23</sup>

An incident which occurred three days later did not help Bret Harte's situation. This was an article on the massacre which was published in *The Humboldt Times* in Eureka. The editor, Austin Wiley, was prejudiced against the Indians, and he wrote the following:

There are men in this county, as there may be elsewhere, where the Government allows these degraded diggers to roam at large, and plunder and murder without restraint, who have been perfectly desperate, and we have here some of the fruits of that desperation. They have friends or relatives cruelly and savagely butchered, their homes made desolate, and their hard-earned property destroyed by these sneaking, cowardly wretches; and when an attempt is made to hunt them from hiding places in the mountains, to administer punishment upon them, they escape to the friendly ranches on the coast for protection. When appeals are made for aid in protecting their lives and property, they are met by contumely and reproach. Their brethren in other parts of the State, many of whom approve of hanging up white men without "due process of law" for much less crimes than these diggers have committed, heap ridicule upon them and shed crocodile tears over the "poor Indians."<sup>24</sup>

Colonel Whipple, who hurried back to Union, found it impossible to stem the tide rising against his associate who dared to take the part of the Indians against the whites. Within a month Harte left Union for San Francisco. There can be little doubt that he probably departed by request. There are many stories which cannot be documented. One popular story in Arcata which old timers still tell is that he waited with two

pistols for a mob that was going to lynch him. Another story is that a troop of United States Cavalry arrived just in time to drag Harte from the vengeance of a mob who were going to lynch him.<sup>25</sup> Charles A. Murdock, the best source, mentioned that "Harte was seriously threatened and in no little danger."<sup>26</sup> On March 26, 1860, Harte left Union and Humboldt County on the steamer *Columbia*.<sup>27</sup>

On March 28, Editor Whipple printed the following in his editorial column:

Mr. F. B. Harte—This young gentleman, who has been engaged in this office from the commencement of the paper, left for San Francisco a few days ago, where he intends to reside in the future. In addition to being a printer, Mr. Harte is a good writer. He has often contributed to the columns of this paper, and at different times when we have been absent, has performed the editorial labors. He is a warm-hearted, genial companion, and a gentleman in every sense of the word. We wish our friend, the success to which his talents entitle him, and cordially commend him to the fraternity of the Bay City.<sup>28</sup>

Harte profited by his experiences here in Arcata, gaining the local color which was different from that of the Sierra foothills. His newspaper experience was a great advantage to him because he had learned a trade in which there was a demand. When Harte returned to San Francisco from Arcata, he obtained employment with *The Golden Era* as a typesetter, and within a few weeks began to contribute. This magazine became the doorway to his career. He later joined the *Californian* where he became the star contributor.

In 1868 Anton Roman, a San Francisco bookseller and publisher, selected Harte editor of *The Overland Monthly*, a new magazine to be written entirely by local talent.<sup>29</sup> "The Luck of Roaring Camp," "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," and "Tennessee's Partner," the best stories that he was ever to write and the ones responsible for his reputation to this day, were printed in this magazine.

NOTES

1. Sophie Whipple Root, "Three Lost Years of Bret Harte's Life," *The Overland Monthly* (October, 1932), p. 229. Mrs. Root's father was Colonel S. G. Whipple, one of the founders of *The Northern Californian*, the newspaper for which Bret Harte worked at Union, now Arcata.
2. Charles A. Murdock, *A Backward Glance at Eighty*, p. 73.
3. The Humboldt Times, October 4, 18, 1856.
4. Isaac Cox, *The Annals of Trinity County*, pp. 29-30.
5. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, XXIV, 477, says that California "cannot grace her annals with a single Indian war bordering on respectability. It can boast, however, a hundred or two of as brutal butcherings, on the part of our honest miners and brave pioneers, as any area of equal extent in our republic."
6. San Francisco Bulletin, July 23, 1857.
7. *Ibid.*, March 13, June 1, and June 4, 1860.
8. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1860.
9. *Ibid.*, March 13, 30, 1860.
10. Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
13. George R. Stewart, *Bret Harte Argonaut and Exile*, pp. 61-83.
14. Root, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
15. *Ibid.*, 229.
16. Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
17. George R. Stewart made a study of his writing in *A Bibliography of the Writings of Bret Harte in the Magazines and Newspapers of California 1857-1871*, published by the University of California Press in 1933.
18. As early as October 1852, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California recommended to the government the quartering of troops on the reservations for the protection of the Indians against lawless whites. General E. A. Hitchcock, commander of the Department of the Pacific, endorsed the plan as "perhaps the only one calculated to prevent the extermination of the Indians." See 33 Cong. spec. sess., serial no. 688, doc. 4, p. 377.
19. Owen C. Coy, in *The Humboldt Bay Region 1850-1875*, said that Gunther, the owner of the island, in his *Autobiography*, MS., repeated the report given by others, but later said that there were probably forty killed on the island. A. J. Bledsoe, in *Indian Wars of the Northwest*, used the files of *The Humboldt Times*, and he placed the total number killed at 250. Hittell, in *California III*, followed Bledsoe's account. In 1916 Lucy Thompson, a full-blooded Yurok of Pekwon, published in Eureka a little-known book called *To the American Indian*. In the book she mentioned that the massacre nearly exterminated the large tribe, and that in 1916 there were not more than twenty of the Wiyot Indians living. Llewellyn L. Loud, in *Ethnogeography and Archaeology of the Wiyot Territory*, used



the files of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. He stated that "nobody ever knew with any exactness the precise number killed on the island," and he quoted Editor Whipple's report as written by Bret Harte.

20. *The Northern Californian*, February 29, 1860.

21. Mad River Bill was the son of "Old Mauweema," the leading Indian of the village north of Arcata on the bend of Mad River. He was honored with a burial in the Arcata cemetery when he died in 1918 at the age of seventy-six. The community endeavored to pay back the debts due him for what he had suffered.

22. *The Northern Californian*, February 29, 1860.

23. Llewellyn L. Loud, *Ethnogeography and Archaeology of the Wiyot Territory*, p. 332.

24. *The Humboldt Times*, March 3, 1860.

25. Root, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

26. Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

27. Stewart, *Bibliography of Writings of Bret Harte*, p. 139.

28. *The Northern Californian*, March 28, 1860.

29. Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, p. 259.



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# The *Camanche*: First Monitor of the Pacific

By ROBERT RYAL MILLER

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DURING THE CIVIL WAR the defenses of the Pacific Coast were augmented by "one of those new-fangled monitor-things," as one Californian expressed it. The bizarre history of this ironclad vessel, the U.S.S. *Camanche*, began in 1861 when military officials and residents of San Francisco, California, petitioned the Navy Department in Washington to provide a floating battery for San Francisco Bay. Persistent rumors and occasional incidents indicated that Confederate warships and privateers were operating in the Pacific threatening gold shipments vital to the Union cause. The peril was magnified by the fact that the United States Navy in 1861 had only seven small wooden sloops-of-war to defend and patrol the Pacific Ocean from Panama to China.<sup>1</sup> The great number of foreign ships that visited San Francisco posed an additional threat, as noted in a report of the general in command of the Department of the Pacific:

I was struck by the fact that at this time, in this distant port and in the present unsettled and delicate state of our affairs, there are now lying English, French, and Russian men-of-war covering the shipping and town completely, and that we have not a single gun, either ashore or afloat, bearing or that can be brought to bear on them, to require them to leave should we wish them to go. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Although gun emplacements on Alcatraz Island and Fort Point offered some protection of the harbor, mobile defenses were needed because parts of the bay were out of range of the existing forts.

James T. Ryan, California state senator, was a prime mover behind

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the demand for additional coastal protection. In the fall of 1861 he went to Washington where, through California Congressmen, he endeavored to persuade Navy officials to augment the Pacific Squadron. In March, 1862, two days after the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*, Senator Ryan accompanied a naval committee to Hampton Roads, Virginia, for a firsthand view of the famous Union ship, "the tin can on a shingle." Subsequently the government authorized an ironclad monitor for the Pacific Coast and invited bids for constructing the vessel. Anticipating this, Ryan formed a partnership with Francis Secor and Peter Donahue, the former a New Jersey shipbuilder and the latter head of the Union Iron Works of San Francisco. Ryan's firm submitted the only bid for the West Coast monitor and was awarded the contract for half a million dollars.<sup>3</sup>

The proposal of Secor, Ryan, and Donahue called for prefabricating the vessel in sections in New Jersey, then transporting the pieces to San Francisco for reassembly there. This unusual plan was carried out, but only with a great number of difficulties as will be seen. The ironclad was one of ten vessels of the monitor class ordered by the government under plans and specifications furnished by John Ericsson, designer of the original *Monitor*. Ericsson named the California-bound craft *Comanche*, but somehow the spelling was changed, and in the official Navy records it always appears as *Camanche*. Perhaps the name was derived from an earlier steamship named *Camanche*, also built on the East Coast and transported to California in sections, a sidewheeler which operated on the Sacramento River from 1851 to 1858.<sup>4</sup>

The California warship was larger than the prototype *Monitor*, and her turret mounted two fifteen-inch guns in place of one. The *Camanche* displaced 1,875 tons, was 200 feet long, 46 feet wide amidships, and had a depth of 11 feet 6 inches. Principal modifications involved relocating the pilot house atop the turret, improved ventilation for the crew, and an armored smokestack. She had nine engines operating from two steam boilers: two for propulsion, two for rotating the turret, two for ventilation fans, two for pumping, and one for vacuum. The ship was capable of making nine knots, maintaining this speed for twelve consecutive hours; and her bunkers carried a week's supply of coal steaming at that rate. The deck and sides above the water line were plated with wrought iron from one to six inches thick, while the rotating turret was

formed from iron plates eleven inches thick. Quarters for the crew of fifty men and eight officers, the galley, and holds for stores and ammunition were located in the forward sections. The total cost of the *Camanche* was \$589,165.31.<sup>5</sup>

California newspapers followed the construction of the *Camanche* and printed numerous articles under the heading, "Our Monitor." In December, 1862, the Sacramento *Union* carried a long article on iron-clads; the romantic nineteenth-century prose is typical:

As the building of vessels of this class is such a sudden novelty, it finds the country all unprepared for its exigency, and yards, depots and various works have all sprung up as by magic in the different cities where the vessels are built. . . . But now a vast battery of peculiar and novel implements of mechanical skill, immense stores of iron, in plates and bars, and the various machines which emergency and ingenuity have called suddenly into being, cumber the ground . . . while every iron furnace in the land glowed with fiercer heats and the iron mines of Pennsylvania rang with redoubled blows, busy brains and hands were fashioning the tools which were to deftly turn the ductile metal into the novel shapes required. . . . And no iron but American iron is used in this defense of American industry and American homes.<sup>6</sup>

It took about nine months for the construction and disassembly of the *Camanche* in New Jersey, whereupon the sections were put aboard the sailing ship *Aquila* for the trip around Cape Horn to California. Convoyed as far as Brazil by the United States Gunboat *Ino*, the *Aquila* left New York on May 30, 1863, and arrived at her port of destination five-and-one-half months later. While docked at Hathaway's Wharf in San Francisco Bay, a storm arose which sank the *Aquila* on November 16 with all the material of the *Camanche* aboard. Californians were shocked and disappointed, but they were heartened by the news that the ship and cargo were insured. Senator Ryan of the contracting firm pledged not to shave until the *Camanche* was salvaged and launched.<sup>7</sup>

Sadness and humor surrounding the accident was reflected in San Francisco newspapers. One writer commented that the sinking "is a calamity. It is annoying, vexatious, costly and delaying." Another pointed out that the *Camanche* was already famous since it had sunk a vessel even before being launched, while the *Daily Alta California* called the *Aquila* "the greatest of war vessels" because "she was the first to sink one of our monitors."<sup>8</sup>

In addition to editorials attributing the sinking to negligence and incompetence, the newspapers carried dozens of articles and letters suggesting methods of raising the *Aquila* or rescuing the parts of the *Camanche*. E. L. Fell's plan involved driving a row of piles around the sunken ship and placing chain cables under the ship connected to hydraulic jacks. The author of this plan claimed to have moved "dozens of large brick buildings" using hydraulic presses. W. H. Irwin averred that "a simple coffer dam, making the bottom tight, is all that is necessary. The ship . . . by this means can be raised, and the entire job accomplished in twelve days time, and at an expense of from \$60,000 to \$90,000."<sup>9</sup> The most original idea came from a gentleman who proposed to raise the ship by means of balloons. The *Alta California* editor commented, "We hope he doesn't desire to make light of the matter. It is rather a gaseous proposition at best."<sup>10</sup> A foreign offer of aid came from Admiral A. Popoff, whose Russian Pacific Naval Squadron was then in the bay: he volunteered four diving suits and men to help get the *Camanche* afloat.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile attempts to raise the *Aquila* failed. Mr. Horace Cole's offer to raise the ship for \$100,000 was accepted by the insurance underwriters, but his efforts to caulk the leaks, pump her out, and raise her were unsuccessful. In December the underwriters announced that they were sending a salvage crew from New York to raise the ship. San Franciscans were nonplused and disappointed; one editor commented, "We believe that we have here men just as competent and well fitted to conduct this work as any who can be forwarded to us from abroad."<sup>12</sup>

About this time a dispute arose over the ownership and liability of the *Aquila* and *Camanche*. The insurance underwriters claimed that their liability had ceased when the ship docked at its destination and that the government was now responsible. However, the Navy said it would prefer to build a new improved monitor rather than raise the *Camanche*. As the argument continued, nervous San Franciscans proposed that the city put up the money to raise the monitor:

Here she is in the mud, at the bottom of the bay, and all our fond hopes of an iron monster to defend our harbor, in the deep bosom of the ocean buried. . . . Let us get her out of her present pickle, and not let her remain salted down. . . . Let it be done by subscription, by a joint stock company, by individuals, or an association of capital in some shape, so it is done quickly.<sup>13</sup>



A chamber of commerce meeting was held December 19 to discuss the matter, but the next day the agent of the underwriters stated that the companies and the Navy had tentatively agreed to act together in salvaging the ship.<sup>14</sup> Then Secor, Ryan, and Donahue attempted to nullify their contract due to increased labor and costs in renovating the damaged pieces of the ironclad. The firm also maintained that there had been a 30 per cent decrease in the value of currency since signing the contract and that they would be "out of pocket" should they finish the job. On top of all this, the owners of Hathaway's Wharf filed suit against the *Aquila* for dock fees and damage, demanding \$75 a day.<sup>15</sup>

In the middle of these legal troubles the salvage crew from New York arrived in San Francisco on January 17, 1864, aboard the steamship *Golden City*. Headed by Captain Israel E. Merritt, the wrecking party consisted of ten professional wreckers and four divers with the necessary equipment. After a survey of the wreck Captain Merritt estimated that 2,600 tons of water pressure was exerted upon the decks of the *Aquila* at low tide. He said that even if attempts at pumping out the ship had been successful, it could not have been raised because the decks would have collapsed.<sup>16</sup> Salvage operations were delayed ten days by the United States Naval agent, Richard Chenery, who had received no information as to which government officer should receive the pieces of the *Camanche*. It was finally decided that the contractors would receive all the parts except the guns and munitions, the latter were to be sent to the Naval Shipyard at nearby Mare Island for safekeeping.

Finally at the end of January, 1864, the work of raising the *Aquila* and her cargo got underway. The divers worked in short shifts, cutting away sections of the *Aquila* and attaching hoist cables to parts of the *Camanche*. Thirty tons of iron plates and other cargo were raised the first day. As each piece of the monitor was raised, it had to be identified, cleaned of rust, the rivet holes reamed out and surfaces repainted. In March several additional experienced divers arrived from New York, doubling the work force. By May 27 the *Aquila* itself had been raised, but it was June 15 before the last of the freight aboard her was discharged.<sup>17</sup>

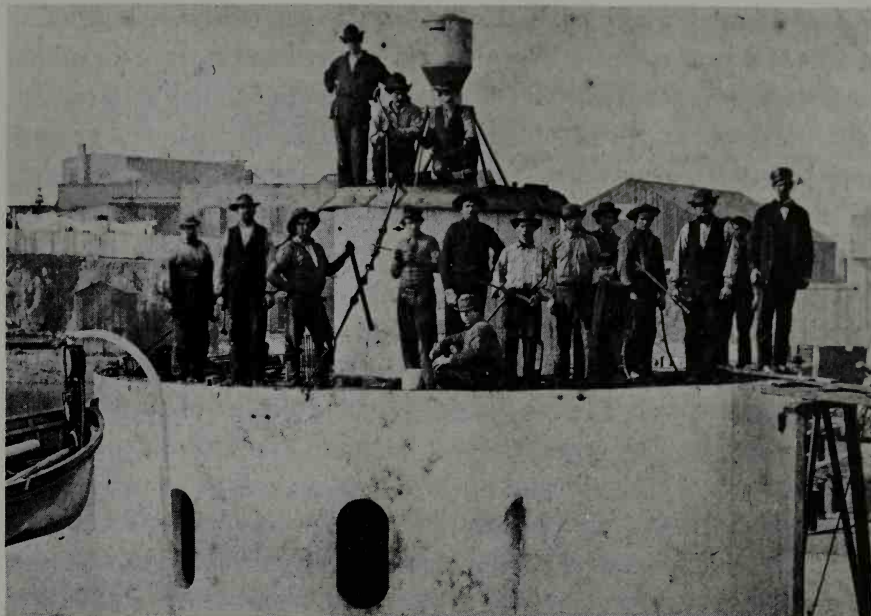
Although the engines and parts of the *Camanche* were in the contractor's shipyard, they refused to assemble the warship until they were guaranteed \$60,000 additional in gold coin for damage done by the salt

water to the woodwork, sails, instruments, and perishable articles. The contractors did not expect the government to pay this amount: the insurance underwriters were liable in their view. But there were forty different insurance companies involved, and it appeared that long and expensive litigation would be necessary before the claims would be honored. Whereupon the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Supervisors met jointly and agreed that the city would guarantee the \$60,000. The *Alta California* editor commented:

It is better for us that the *Camanche* should be set up at once. There is not much danger we will ever have to pay one dollar of the \$60,000. . . . Who will object to such an outlay, when the consideration is the monitor *Camanche* steaming around the Bay with the muzzles of her 15-inch guns protruding from her turret ready to vomit thunders, the like of which were never heard till this war of ours commenced, on the appearance of any foe?"<sup>18</sup>

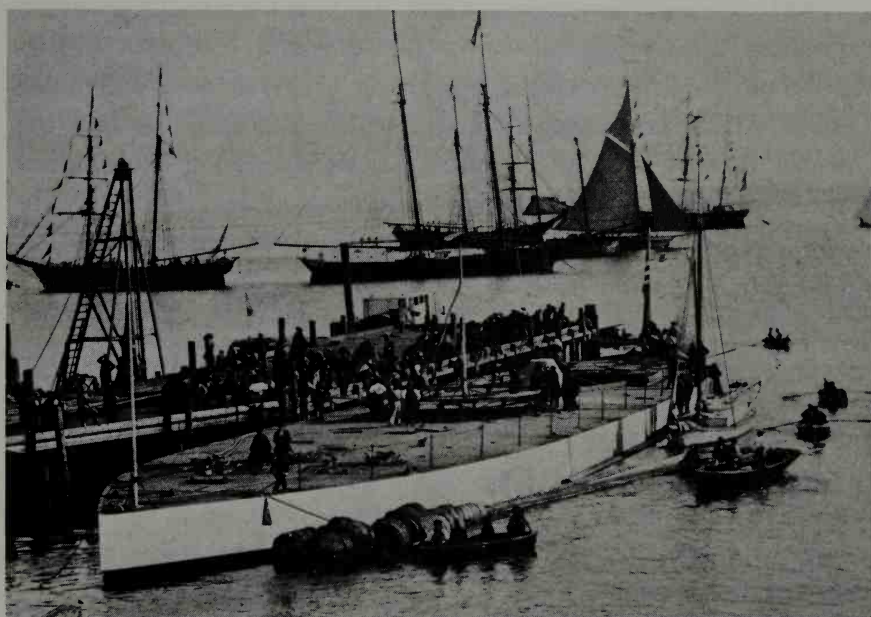
But the city of San Francisco did have to pay the \$60,000. And although the contractors endorsed the insurance policies over to the city, it is doubtful that the city was ever compensated, because sixteen years later and after many lawsuits a report of the board of supervisors noted that "the question of reimbursing the city for the outlay appears to be as undecided as ever notwithstanding all the efforts made."<sup>19</sup> However, as soon as the additional money was guaranteed, Ryan and Donahue began the work of reconstructing the *Camanche*.

By the middle of November, 1864, a year after the wreck of the *Aquila*, the monitor was ready for launching. About twenty-five thousand people including the old pioneer John A. Sutter crowded into temporary bleachers at the foot of Third Street to witness the well-advertised event. Two special sight-seeing boats filled with prominent people arrived too late, as the launching, scheduled for 11:30, actually occurred seven minutes early. The celebration was further marred when first the champagne bottle refused to break, then during the launching the *Camanche* collided with a wharf, and finally the stern went under water for a time threatening the party on board. Far more serious was the accident that cost the life of State Senator John P. Buckley, a member of the official party on board the monitor. Buckley's foot became tangled in the ropes coiled on deck, and the injuries sustained by him led to his death two days later.<sup>20</sup> But in general the launching was a successful and happy affair.



*Courtesy of San Francisco Maritime Museum Association*

Men working on turret of U.S. monitor *Camanche*, 1864



*Courtesy of Bancroft Library*

Launch of the *Camanche*, San Francisco

Launching festivities lasted most of the day with naval salutes, speeches, patriotic cheers, an army band concert, and tours of the monitor. Some six hundred invited guests assembled in a building at the wharf where the contractors provided refreshments. "Wine, wit, and general good feeling followed the repast," according to a contemporary account. Cheers were given for the contractors, the inventor of the *Monitor*, the Union, the flag, and President Lincoln. One speaker called the *Camanche* "a link in the chain which binds us to the Union, and a guarantee of the inviolability of our soil from foreign invasion and protection against domestic traitors."<sup>21</sup> Late in the afternoon a member of the San Francisco opera troupe sang "The Flag of Our Union," and the guests all joined in singing the "Star Spangled Banner." As a final note, Senator Ryan shaved off his year's growth of whiskers.

For two months following the launching, workmen were busy installing the engines, pilot house, turret, and other components of the monitor. Finally in mid-January of 1865 the *Camanche* was ready for a trial run and delivery to the Naval Yard. The occasion called for a celebration; therefore two hundred guests came aboard the monitor for the trip to Mare Island. Two tugs, two steamships, and a revenue cutter accompanied the ironclad, and as they moved along the waterfront, flags of different vessels were dipped, bells rung, cheers shouted, and salutes fired. A *Camanche* passenger noted that "A bountiful collation was spread in the ward room," and he added that the guests did "ample justice to the viands and liquids in the shortest possible space of time."<sup>22</sup> The armada reached the Navy Yard at six in the evening where they discovered that the commandant had no orders or authorization to receive the vessel. Nevertheless, he took possession in the name of the government and ordered a party of Marines aboard to guard the monitor. The contractors and their party returned to San Francisco that evening aboard the revenue cutter. "The band played air after air to the crowd on deck, dances were improvised, and, with a laugh and song, the hours glided merrily away."<sup>23</sup> The maiden voyage of the *Camanche* was considered a success both in the ship's performance and the enjoyment of those who participated.

Official tests of the monitor's maneuvering ability and of her turret and guns took place in February, 1865:



The *Camanche* . . . was found to answer the helm admirably, enabling her to turn in all directions with the utmost ease and rapidity. . . . Each gun was fired once with shot and twice with shell . . . a fifteen-inch shell was fired directly into the bank. It buried itself deeply in the earth, and exploded with tremendous force, lifting several tons of soil and rock into the air, and sending up a dense volume of smoke from the crater formed by the explosion.<sup>24</sup>

The tests proved entirely satisfactory, but now that the ship was ready for service the need for a floating battery no longer existed.

Although a recent book on the Civil War in the West says that the *Camanche* patrolled the waters of the Golden Gate during the final months of the war, the truth is that the war ended some months before the gunboat was ready for action. Daily entries in the log of the *Camanche* begin on May 24, 1865, but the monitor was not commissioned until August 22 of that year. A brief note of that event in the ship's log reads, "12 M. Mustered all hands and put the ship in Commission, and hoisted the colors."<sup>25</sup> During the following year the monitor made several trips around San Francisco Bay but spent most of the time at the Mare Island pier. It is interesting to note that the first captain of the ship was Lieutenant Commander Charles J. McDougal, son of the commandant of Mare Island Naval Shipyard, Captain Douglas McDougal. Irish names predominated among the *Camanche* crew members: the roster included Flynn, Regan, Flanigan, Sullivan, Brennen, Donovan, Sweeney, Lynch, Farley, O'Brien, Brophy, and Muldoon.<sup>26</sup>

Most entries from the log of the *Camanche* resemble those of other Navy ships:

Called all hands, scrubbed berth deck; crew employed in general ships duty; exercised crew at great guns, small arms, single sticks, fire quarters, and armed boats; crew employed washing clothes; inspected all hands and read Articles of War; twenty men permitted to go ashore until sundown; confined James Berry, Seaman, in double irons on bread and water (Drunk).<sup>27</sup>

A few items in the log are of unusual interest, such as the entry dated June 1, 1865, "No work done today on account of a general fast being ordered by the President for the death of Abraham Lincoln." Lists of provisions are also in the log; they reveal some aspects of life aboard a Civil War monitor. Food items received the week of August 3, 1865, were 19 sacks of dried beans, 3 sacks of rice, 5 barrels of flour, 4 barrels

of sugar, 3 barrels of dried apples, 5 barrels of pickles, 3,600 pounds of salted beef and pork in barrels, 400 pounds of coffee, and 43 bags of bread. In addition to fresh water and coal taken aboard, other stores included a barrel of sperm oil, 5 pounds of lampwick yarn, 2 gallons of neatsfoot oil, 1 barrel of coal tar, 5 pounds of beeswax, 10 gallons of turpentine, 5 gallons of linseed oil, 2 pounds of copper rivets, and 5 gross brass screws.

Demobilization and budget cuts at the end of the Civil War forced the *Camanche* into retirement. Her decommissioning at Mare Island took place on September 3, 1866, only a year after the commissioning ceremony. The monitor's munitions and stores were unloaded, and the men transferred to other ships or duty. For the next thirty years the *Camanche* rode at anchor as part of the Mare Island "moth-ball fleet." By 1880 she had acquired a new wooden superstructure complete with shingled roof and served first as a warehouse then later as a barracks for Marines. Towed to San Francisco in 1896, she became a training vessel for the state naval militia. The monitor was in good repair except for the deck which, according to a contemporary account, was "rotten as punk, but as the planking is laid upon an iron deck, there is no danger of the naval reserve going down below through the seams."<sup>28</sup> The deck was then covered with a thick coating of tar and sawdust giving it the appearance of a prize ring. During the Spanish-American War the *Camanche* formed part of the Pacific fleet "ready to defend San Francisco, Portland and other cities from Spanish privateers."<sup>29</sup> But the Spanish navy never threatened the Pacific Coast, and the war ended before the antique guns of the warship could be replaced with modern ones.

The government career of the *Camanche* ended in March, 1899, when she was sold to the firm of Pantesky, Bircovich, and Livingston for \$6,581.25. Said Mr. Pantesky, "We had a survey made of the *Comanche* [sic] and decided that she was just the boat we wanted for a freight ferry."<sup>30</sup> Her turret, engines, and some iron plates were removed, but the timbers below deck were eliminated in a novel way—they were set on fire. "Flames and smoke rolled out of her hull . . . making her a picturesque sight in the Alameda moonlight. . . . It was a grand sight and a great finish for the old warship."<sup>31</sup> After installing hoisting machinery the hull served as a collier around San Francisco Bay until junked in the 1920's.

The curious history of the *Camanche* covers more than sixty years. Jinxed from the beginning when she was sunk before being launched, the monitor never left San Francisco Bay, and her guns never fired a shot except in practice or as a salute. In addition to serving as a warship she also functioned as a warehouse, barracks, training ship, and coal barge. But the *Camanche* deserves to be remembered as the first and probably the last monitor of the Pacific.

#### NOTES

1. Pacific Squadron vessels listed in U.S., Congress, Senate, *Report of the Secretary of Navy*, 1861, 36 Cong., 2d Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 4, pp. 27-28; 37 Cong., 2d Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 10-11. See also the article by Benjamin F. Gilbert, "San Francisco Harbor Defense During the Civil War," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXIII (September, 1954), 229-240.

2. General Irvin McDowell to Chief, Army Engineer Corps, San Francisco, Aug. 5, 1864, U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. L, pt. II, pp. 929-930.

3. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series II, Vol. I, pt. 1, "Statistical data of Ships, United States Vessels," p. 50, hereinafter cited as *Official Records, Navies*. Ryan's sojourn in Washington described in a newspaper clipping, Bancroft Scrapbook No. 105, p. 10, Bancroft Library, University of Calif., Berkeley.

4. *New York Post*, September 17, 1862; *New York Times*, September 16, 1862; see also Robert MacBride, *Civil War Ironclads; the Dawn of Naval Armor*, pp. 23-26. The *Camanche* is not mentioned in the engineer's biographies: William Church, *The Life of John Ericsson*; Ruth White, *Yankee From Sweden, the Dream and the Reality in the days of John Ericsson*. The riverboat *Camanche* described in Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle Wheel Days in California*, pp. 20, 135; *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, November, 1851; *Sacramento, California, Union*, May 1, 1858.

5. *Official Records, Navies*, Series II, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 50; *Alta California*, August 1, 1863. Scale drawings of sister ship, *U.S. Monitor Montauk*, Record Group 19, Bureau of Ships, National Archives.

6. *Sacramento Union*, December 30, 1862.

7. Report and comment on the shipwreck in *Alta California*, "November 17, 1863; see also the article by Homer C. Votaw, "The Curious Case of the *Camanche*," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 82 (July, 1956), 792-793.

8. *Alta California*, November 17, 27, 1863.

9. *Alta California*, December 5, 1863.

10. *Alta California*, December 5, 1863.

11. *Alta California*, January 10, 1864.
12. *Alta California*, December 6, 1863.
13. *Alta California*, December 16, 1863.
14. *Alta California*, December 20, 1863.
15. *Alta California*, December 12, 1863.
16. *Alta California*, January 18, 1864.
17. *Alta California*, January 29, March 30, May 27, 1864.
18. *Alta California*, July 12, 1864.
19. *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1880-81*, Appendix, pp. 67, 78; *Alta California*, June 30, 1864.
20. *Alta California*, November 14, 15, 18, 1864; Votaw, "Curious Case of the *Camanche*," p. 793.
21. *Alta California*, November 15, 1864; see also *Alta California*, November 14, 16, 1864.
22. *Alta California*, January 22, 1865.
23. *Alta California*, January 22, 1865.
24. *Alta California*, February 11, 1865.
25. Log of *U.S. Monitor Camanche*, August 22, 1865, Record Group 45, National Archives. Votaw, "Curious Case of the *Camanche*," p. 793, gives commission date as August 11, and *Official Records, Navies*, Series II, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 50, says ship commissioned May 24, 1865. The account of the *Camanche* by Oscar Lewis in *The War in the Far West: 1861-1865*, pp. 241, 243, is full of errors.
26. List of crew members, Log of *Camanche*, August 22, 1865.
27. Selected entries, Log of *Camanche*.
28. *The San Francisco Call*, March 15, 1896.
29. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 13, 1898; *The San Francisco Call*, March 29, 1898.
30. *The San Francisco Call*, March 26, 1899.
31. *The [San Francisco] Examiner*, July 24, 1899; *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 28, 1899.



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# The Religious Ardor of Peter H. Burnett California's First American Governor

By WILLIAM E. FRANKLIN

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PETER H. BURNETT, first American governor of California, apparently had no strong religious convictions as a youth—as a young man (probably when in his twenties) he became a Deist.<sup>1</sup> While he could not fully accept Christianity, he “could never doubt the existence of God. . . . I saw in the visible creation the plainest possible evidence of design—a perfect adaption of means to ends.”<sup>2</sup> Further reflection led to the full acknowledgment of the reality of God. It was then only a short step to the acceptance of Christianity: in 1840 (at the age of thirty-three) he joined the Disciples of Christ church.

After he moved to Oregon in 1843, Burnett continued a practicing Protestant for some years. In 1844 the Burnetts lived for a few months in the log cabin on the Tualatin Plains that served as a church building on Sunday. Late in 1844 the West Union Baptist Church was organized and at first met in private homes; on December 14, 1844, it met in the Burnett home.<sup>3</sup>

The pastor of the church had a copy of the celebrated debate between Alexander Campbell and Bishop John B. Purcell which Burnett read. Although he had complete confidence in Campbell's ability as a debater and his prejudices were with him, the logic of the Catholic argument surprised Burnett. No doubt the Scholastic logic used by Bishop Purcell appealed to Burnett because of his legal training. This study did not fully convince him of the truth of the Catholic faith but it greatly impressed him.<sup>4</sup>

Undoubtedly Burnett discussed Catholic doctrine with Dr. John McLoughlin, a Catholic convert. McLoughlin lent him more books on

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the subject. John Minto, while visiting the Burnetts, noted some books Burnett had borrowed from McLoughlin and later wrote that among them was a "plea for the Roman Catholic Church as the only true Christian Church—so profound that I was unable to follow the author for the little time I bestowed on it."<sup>5</sup> Minto believed that it was McLoughlin who influenced Burnett to become a Catholic.

After "an impartial and calm investigation" over a period of eighteen months Burnett became convinced that Catholicism was the true faith.<sup>6</sup> Father De Vos received him into the Catholic Church at Oregon City in June, 1846.<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Burnett followed her husband into the Church and so complete was their conversion that they were remarried in the Church.<sup>8</sup> No other member of either Peter or Mrs. Burnett's family was Catholic, and the minority position of the Catholic Church in Oregon made it unpopular, thus there is little alternative but to accept Burnett's explanation of the change.

A little more than a year after his conversion, Burnett publicly defended his new faith. The massacre of Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman and twelve other inhabitants of the Waiilatpu Mission in the fall of 1847 shocked and angered the Oregon country. The massacre furnished a topic of conversation for weeks, and inevitably the people began to seek explanations for the attack on the man who perhaps had been the Indians' most understanding white friend. Modern scholarship recognizes the massacre as another of the inevitable clashes between the white men and the Indians that occurred intermittently as the frontier irresistibly pressed the Indians farther and farther west and took their best lands.<sup>9</sup> But the people on the spot did not seek underlying causes. A terrible atrocity had occurred, and they looked for an immediate cause—preferably one man or one group of men who could be blamed. The Reverend Henry H. Spalding, Dr. Marcus Whitman's coworker in the back-country mission work, strongly suspected that the Catholic missionaries had incited the Indians to massacre the whites. His evidence, as viewed now, was superficial and circumstantial; but he had barely escaped with his life after being held in "protective" captivity by "friendly" Nez Percés following the massacre, and he was in no psychological condition to view the evidence objectively.<sup>10</sup>

Some Catholic converts among the Indians had asked the Catholic missionaries to take over the Whitman mission and negotiations were

under way between the Catholics and Whitman at the time of the massacre. The Reverend J. B. A. Brouillet went to the mission to discuss the details with Whitman only to find him dead. After helping bury the massacre victims, Brouillet started for Lapwai to warn Spalding that his life also was in danger. Meeting Spalding only a short distance from Waiilatpu, Brouillet informed him of the incident and Spalding fled to a friendly Nez Percés village after days of the most exhausting privation, wandering through the wilderness and hiding from Cayuse braves. Father Brouillet, uncertain of his own safety among the Cayuse Indians, returned to an Indian village and continued his priestly ministrations among them, baptizing infants and administering last rites to those who were dying of the measles spread among them by the immigrant caravan.<sup>11</sup>

These actions of the Catholics convinced Spalding that some of the Catholics must have incited the Indians to the massacre of the Whitmans and their assistants. Before he was ransomed from the Nez Percés by Peter Skene Ogden late in December, Spalding had written to Bishop Augustine Blanchet soliciting aid in securing his release.<sup>12</sup> After his liberation, Spalding moved to the Tualatin Plains. Bishop Blanchet later published the letter which Spalding had written to him, and Spalding interpreted this as a deliberate attempt to disparage both him and the work of the Protestants among the Indians.<sup>13</sup>

After brooding for some weeks, the Reverend Spalding mounted the pulpit one Sunday and delivered a scathing denunciation of the Catholics accusing certain Catholics of inciting the Indians to the barbarous Whitman Massacre. A report of this sermon was given to Burnett by a friend, and he flared in righteous indignation. Immediately he challenged Spalding to a debate to prove the complicity of the Catholics in the massacre.<sup>14</sup> Spalding couched his reply in terms which agreed and refused simultaneously. He agreed to give the public a full statement of the massacre from his personal observations and information obtained from witnesses, but he was unwilling to prepare the statements if they could not be published in the *Oregon Spectator*. He knew this condition was impossible as an earlier request for publication of a discussion of the massacre had been refused on the grounds that the constitution of the Oregon Printing Association prohibited the publication of sectarian discussions. Spalding insisted that he intended not only to discuss the

massacre but also to "lay down the principles of the Christian religion as found in the Bible, and also the principles of the Am[erican] Board for For[eign] Miss[ions]" in his discussions.<sup>15</sup> Before answering Spalding, Burnett renewed the request to the editor of the *Spectator* and was refused. The use of the *Spectator* could not be obtained, declared Burnett, in his reply to Spalding. Would the Reverend Spalding still refuse to present his charges against the Catholics in writing? "Must the accused and injured suffer in silence and submission, knowing that they are charged with the commission of the most grievous crimes; and yet not permitted to know what they are, nor upon what evidence those charges are made?"<sup>16</sup>

Spalding answered in an article in the newly established newspaper, the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, published by his friend and associate, the Reverend J. S. Griffin.<sup>17</sup> Spalding's wild accusations were published in the first three issues of this biweekly paper. He accused the Catholics of instigating the Whitman Massacre, citing as evidence the facts that the Catholics desired the Wailatpu location and the priests had baptized members of the murderers' families soon after the massacre.<sup>18</sup> Following the third of Spalding's articles, Editor Griffin asked Burnett if he would care to discuss the massacre with Spalding through the columns of the *Oregon American*. Burnett gladly accepted the defense of his new-found faith and in an eighteen page letter leveled at the Reverend Spalding a scathing accusation of bias, prejudice, and refusal to state facts precisely. Burnett's language was vitriolic. He declared that the Reverend Spalding "in the plenitude of his zeal and charity, has charged certain Catholics, and through them the Catholic Church, with one of the most unnatural, useless, and dismal murders anywhere to be found, in the dark and shuddering annals of human crime."<sup>19</sup> All these charges were made by Spalding for the "pure, holy, and just purpose" that the accused should have an impartial trial before the community and "that there may be no prejudice excited against them—no enmity—no bad blood." Even in the Court of Judge Lynch, justice was administered promptly and some testimony "usually required for decency's sake." That was not true in the Court of "His Honor, Judge Prejudice." No testimony was required: it was only necessary that "the victim be *suspicioned of being suspected*, and that the charge is made." The judge would not allow the accused to defend



himself in any way.<sup>20</sup> This was the only letter from Burnett in the exchange. Within a month he left Oregon leading a wagon train to the gold fields of California. At about the same time the *Oregon American* suspended publication for six months, and an unnamed informant declared the reason for the suspension was that an individual who did not want the Whitman Massacre controversy continued seduced the printer to a better paying job.<sup>21</sup>

This episode presents Burnett's most vituperative defense of Catholicism. In *The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church* written a dozen years later he presented the defense in what he intended to be a coldly logical form, but which actually was a verbose polemic arguing the truth of Catholicism.

During his residence in San Jose, California (1849-1863), Burnett continued in the Catholic faith and sent his children to a Catholic school in near-by Santa Clara. I have found no evidence that religion ever played a part in Burnett's political activities or his brief career on the Supreme Court of California.

Upon quitting the Supreme Court in 1858 Burnett wrote his book, *The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church*, and it was published in 1859. Reception of the book varied according to the religion of the reviewer. The reviews in the *Sacramento Union* all were unfavorable. At intervals for almost a month that paper reprinted reviews from other papers before the editor presented his own opinions. It quoted the *New York Examiner* (Baptist): "To borrow an illustration from his own honorable profession, the case, as presented to us by Mr. Burnett, seems to be wrongly made up, unfairly argued, and wrongfully decided, and before a court not having jurisdiction."<sup>22</sup> The editor of the *Church Journal* (Episcopal) was equally unimpressed:

His big book (741 pages, octavo), as a theological work, is unworthy of notice. . . . The work is perhaps as successful as a treatise on Constitutional Law would probably be if written by a country clergyman, whose sole knowledge of law consisted in hearing a few cases argued in Court, and such private reading as he could go through with in his spare time during a year and a half of hard work in his parish. . . .<sup>23</sup>

The editor of the *Union* expressed his views in a three column review in the same vein.<sup>24</sup>

Catholics received the book warmly. *Brownson's Quarterly Review* lauded Burnett in a sixteen page review. The reviewer declared:

In writing his book, Judge Burnett has rendered a noble homage to his new faith; he has, too, performed a patriotic act which will compare favorable [*sic*] with the most glorious deeds of our greatest patriots. Through him, California has made a more glorious contribution to the Union than all the gold in her mines, for truth is more precious than gold, yea, than fine gold.<sup>25</sup>

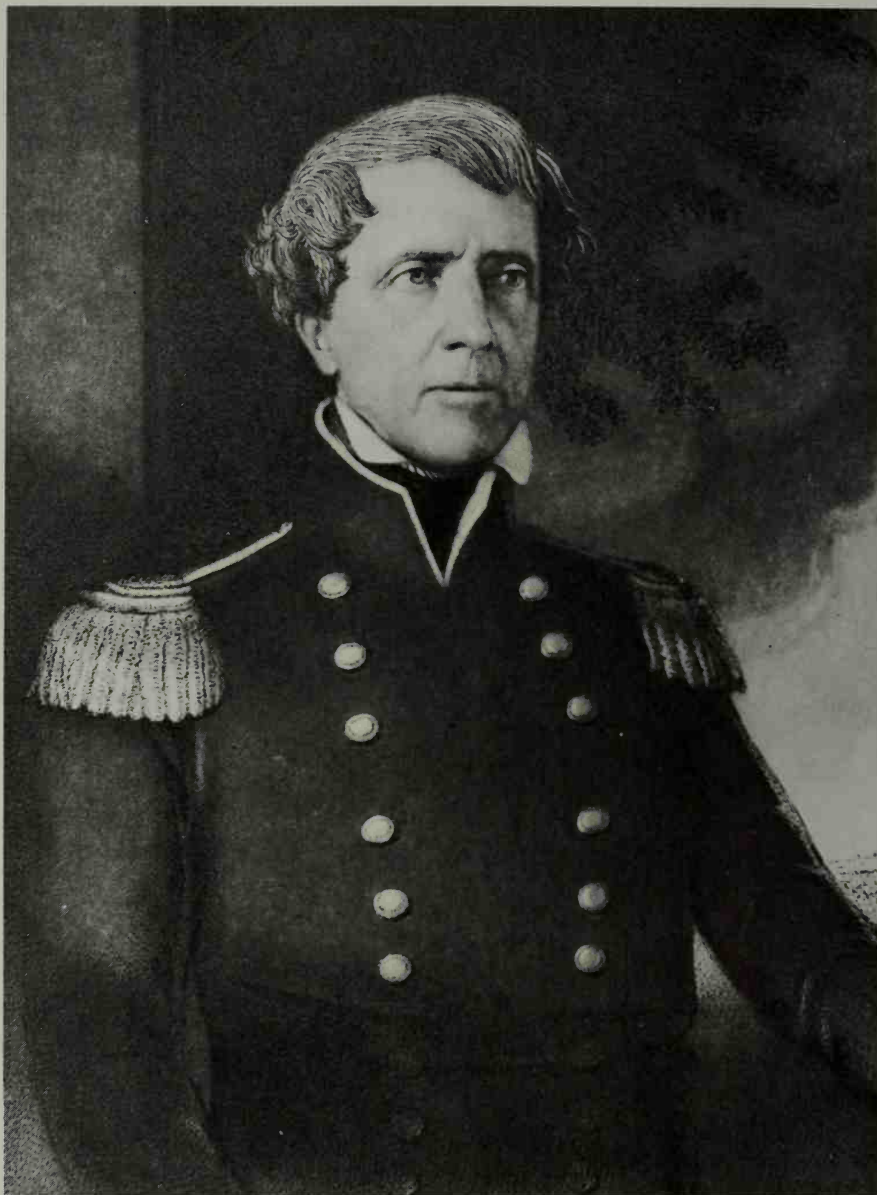
A copy of the book was forwarded to Pope Pius IX, who acknowledged receipt in a letter to Burnett which closed: "Finally, as a pledge of celestial favors, and as a testimony of our paternal love for you, we most affectionately impart to you, beloved son, with all the sincerity of our heart, our apostolic benediction."<sup>26</sup>

The popularity of the book among Catholics is attested by its appearance in a fourth edition in 1872 that was edited, abridged, and reprinted by the Reverend James Sullivan in 1909. This edition was published not only in the United States but also in Freiburg, Germany, and London, England.<sup>27</sup> It remains a lasting memorial to the religious ardor of the first governor of the state of California.

#### NOTES

1. This paper is based upon material in my doctoral dissertation: "The Political Career of Peter Hardeman Burnett" (Stanford University, 1954).
2. Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of An Old Pioneer*, pp. 94-95.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 183; J. Orin Oliphant (ed.), "Minutes of West Union Baptist Church," *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI (1935), 354.
4. Burnett, *Recollections*, pp. 188-189; Peter H. Burnett, *The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church*, p. vii.
5. John Minto, "What I Know of Dr. McLoughlin and How I Know It," *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, XI (1910), 187.
6. Burnett, *Recollections*, p. 189.
7. *Ibid.*; Edward V. O'Hara, "DeSmet in the Oregon Country," *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, X (1909), 256.
8. Minto, *loc. cit.*, p. 187.
9. James B. Zischke, "Marcus Whitman: A Biographical Reinterpretation" (Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1950), chaps. viii, ix.
10. Clifford M. Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding*, p. 356.
11. Zischke, "Marcus Whitman," p. 288.
12. Drury, *Spalding*, p. 356.

13. *Ibid.*
14. Burnett to Griffin [shortly after July 5, 1848], *Letters of Peter H. Burnett and Henry H. Spalding, Debating Causes of the Whitman Massacre, Written to J. S. Griffin in 1848 for his Paper, The Oregon American*, photostatic copies of long hand originals in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
15. Spalding to Burnett, April 11, 1848, *Letters Debating Whitman Massacre*.
16. Burnett to Spalding, April 18, 1848, *Letters Debating Whitman Massacre*.
17. Flora Belle Ludington, *The Newspapers of Oregon, 1846-1870*, p. 32.
18. Drury, *Spalding*, p. 356.
19. Burnett to Griffin [shortly after July 5, 1848], *Letters Debating Whitman Massacre*.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Ludington, *The Newspapers of Oregon, 1846-1870*, p. 32.
22. *Sacramento Union*, March 10, 1860.
23. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1860.
24. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1860.
25. *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, I (1860), 253.
26. Quoted in the *Sacramento Union*, September 17, 1860.
27. Burnett, *The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church* (4th ed., rev., New York, 1872); Burnett, *The Path Which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church*, ed. and abridged by the Reverend James Sullivan (St. Louis, 1909).



*Courtesy UCLA Photographic Department*

MAJOR GENERAL STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY  
During the period of the Mexican War

From a mezzotint engraving in the Library of Congress. Taken from an original daguerreotype engraved by J. B. Welch for *Graham's Magazine*.



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# Soldiers Under Stephen Watts Kearny

By DWIGHT L. CLARKE

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The following is the text of an address given by Mr. Clarke at a dinner meeting of members of the Society, held at the Huntington-Sheraton Hotel in Pasadena on January 28, 1966. The title was originally announced as "The Men at San Pasqual," but Mr. Clarke has changed it to the above for publication.

TO SPEAK LITERALLY to the title—The Men at San Pasqual—would require far more time than has been allotted me. Kit Carson himself would be a good subject for a full evening's program, and some others who fought in the battle would each require nearly as much time. At two other members meetings my subject was General Stephen Watts Kearny and since some of you heard those talks, I want to save you the boredom of repetition.

A superficial roll call of the participants in the battle would not prove very interesting. I propose instead to sketch the lives and later careers of five men who served under Kearny. After suffering the hardships of the longest march in United States history and the perils of its battles, these men played important roles in the subsequent history of California and the West. By their sacrifices they changed the direction of the region's future, by their later activities they left indelible marks upon its society, its economy, and its government.

The coming of American rule to California was one of the most decisive events in our nation's history. The 1700 men who marched out of Fort Leavenworth in June, 1846, were called The Army of the West. That name still clung to the three hundred dragoons who left Santa Fé for California with General Kearny near the end of September. Even this remnant was reduced another two-thirds a few days later near Socorro, New Mexico because of Kearny's fateful encounter with Kit Carson. Carson was carrying despatches to Washington from Commo-

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dore Robert Stockton and Lieutenant Colonel John Charles Frémont to inform the government that these two officers had conquered California. Unfortunately the news was premature and inaccurate. At that very moment the native Californians were revolting, and all the province south of Monterey, except for San Diego, was recaptured by the insurgents.

Thereafter only an escort of one hundred dragoons went on to California with Kearny, still called somewhat absurdly now, The Army of the West. As you know, this diminutive army fought a bloody battle at San Pasqual. Nearly everything about that fight has provoked controversy. It took thirty-seven pages of the biography I wrote of General Stephen Watts Kearny to detail its many pros and cons.

When the battered survivors reached San Diego, they were reinforced by sailors and marines from Stockton's fleet and a few American volunteers. This combined force fought two more battles at the San Gabriel and at the Plains of the Mesa and occupied Los Angeles. There they were joined by Frémont and his California Battalion. They had just accepted the surrender of the insurgents at Cahuenga.

California was now American. What of that Army of the West? Did its members then fade out of California history? I believe that the careers of several of them provide very interesting answers.

Briefly as to General Kearny himself. He entered California on November 25, 1846. He started his return journey to the States from Monterey on May 31, 1847. In that six months, he completed the pacification of the country, appointed many local officials, checked the hostile Indians tribes, started surveys for the defense of San Francisco Bay and granted to the growing town of San Francisco the title to its beach and water lots. This made possible the development of its great harbor. He stopped several irregular seizures of property whose ownership was in dispute. He established the first regular United States mail service in California, and with Commodore Biddle set up the first American admiralty court on the Pacific Coast. These are only a few highlights of his brief administration.

The first man whom I would like to introduce is Captain Henry Smith Turner. This officer took temporary command when General Kearny was wounded at San Pasqual. He continued to serve as Kearny's aide and adjutant; and when the general returned to Fort Leavenworth,

Turner accompanied him. The confidential letters he wrote to his wife are one of our best sources about the hectic controversy between Kearny and Frémont.

During the research for the Kearny biography I learned of an unpublished journal Turner had written of the march from Fort Leavenworth to Warner's Ranch, California. The search covered several months. The original has been lost for many years, but I found a typewritten copy of the original made over fifty years ago. A second copy was found—in the handwriting of a daughter of Henry Turner. Although faded, the manuscript was quite legible, and it surely is authentic because the text is almost identical with the typewritten copy. This journal is a highly intimate and introspective narrative.

The University of Oklahoma Press agrees with me that this Turner journal deserves publication. I have edited it and expect it to be published in the next few months under the title of *Following my Destiny*. The same search unearthed another unpublished journal of Captain Turner, the official account of the return of General Kearny's party from California in the summer of 1847. This will be published with the earlier journal, together with a number of Turner's letters to his wife.

An editor of a dead man's journals naturally becomes curious about their author. Turner is mentioned innumerable times by historical writers but always incidentally or in brief paragraphs. Research in Turner's case developed interesting material for a biographical chapter in the book the Oklahoma Press will soon publish.

Henry Smith Turner was born in Virginia in 1811. He was a near kinsman of Robert E. Lee and, like him, attended West Point, graduating in the class of 1834. In his early Army career Turner spent a year at Saumur, the famous military school in France. Two other young officers accompanied him; curiously Lieutenant Philip Kearny, nephew of Stephen Watts Kearny, was one of them. When he came back to America, Turner helped translate French cavalry tactics for the U.S. Army. His work was long a standard textbook at West Point.

Shortly afterwards Turner married and established a home on the outskirts of St. Louis. His wife bore him seventeen children, eleven of whom reached maturity.

Turner became a major soon after his return from California. The journals and letters written during his wanderings in the West are full





*Courtesy of Philip St. George Cooke III of Santa Fé, New Mexico*

PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE



of expressions of acute homesickness. He so dreaded the possibility of further assignments to remote places that he resigned his Army commission on July 1, 1848.

Soon afterwards he became associated with his wife's uncle, James H. Lucas, a wealthy St. Louis financier. The Gold Rush had created great interest in California and Lucas and some of his partners decided to start a branch of their banking house in San Francisco. Mr. Lucas induced Turner to open the branch bank. This seemed to involve another separation from his family, so Major Turner only accepted when he had persuaded an old army friend to follow him to California and take over the bank's management as soon as it was firmly established. This Army friend was a certain lieutenant of artillery whom Turner met in Monterey in 1847. His name was William Tecumseh Sherman. The friendship of these men grew out of a homely incident. After the rigors of the long march and several battles, Captain Turner was sorely in need of shirts and underwear. Sherman, having traveled by sea, was plentifully supplied and generously shared with Captain Turner. Their friendship endured for life, and the correspondence of these two strongly contrasted soldiers adds greatly to our knowledge. Captain Turner, nine years older than Sherman, was dignified and rather introverted. Sherman was restless, peppery and decidedly the extrovert.

The San Francisco banking house of Lucas, Turner & Company opened in temporary quarters in 1853, but soon moved into its own building at the northeast corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets. The lower story of this structure still remains, one of the few buildings that have survived from pioneer days.

After Turner went back to St. Louis, he and Sherman wrote each other by every mail steamer.

Banking in San Francisco in the 1850's was one long continuous excitement. There were runs on banks, failures, conflagrations, embezzlements, municipal corruption; and whenever business became too humdrum, there were distractions like the shooting of Editor James King of William, the resulting creation of the Second Vigilance Committee, and the public hanging by that committee of Cora and Casey.

All these events Sherman reported in scores of letters to Turner. Some of Turner's replies I found in the Missouri Historical Society. But by the sort of serendipity that sometimes makes dull research exciting, I finally

discovered over two hundred of *Sherman's* letters to Turner. None of these has ever been published. They are virtually a day-to-day account of the personal and business life of a San Francisco banker during the Gold Rush. As a one-time banker myself, whose career also began in San Francisco, I found these letters especially interesting. I hope to write a book on the subject.

In Turner's later life he was president of two St. Louis banks. During the stormy days of 1861 he struggled manfully to keep Missouri in the Union. While a moderate, he actually went to Washington to urge President Lincoln to commission his old friend Sherman a brigadier general. His advice was not immediately followed, but a little later Sherman was made a colonel. Quite probably Turner planted the seed from which grew one of the greatest military careers in American history.

The war was a keen personal tragedy to Turner. Two of his sons entered the Confederate Army. One was killed at Bull Run. Turner died in St. Louis, December 16, 1881.

The second of the five men was Lieutenant William Hemsley Emory. His "Notes" are the official report of the march of The Army of the West and a classic.

Emory was born in Maryland on September 7, 1811. He graduated from West Point in 1831; when The Army of the West was organized, Emory, a first lieutenant of topographical engineers, became its senior engineering officer. He did much more than map, survey, and write notes. He scouted, charged and fought when necessary. At San Pasqual he undoubtedly saved General Kearny's life. While Kearny was fencing with a lancer in front of him, another attacked him in the rear, but Emory with flashing saber routed the assailant.

Emory fought at the San Gabriel and the Mesa. After Los Angeles was occupied, he selected the site for Fort Moore above the Plaza and probably chose its name in memory of his dead comrade, Captain Benjamin Moore, killed at San Pasqual.

After returning to San Diego with General Kearny, the latter sent him east with despatches to the War Department. En route he apparently wrote some letters later published under a pen name. These were strongly critical of Frémont's conduct in California. That put Emory on the black books of Senator Benton, Frémont's father-in-law, and

Benton vigorously attacked him in the Senate. Nevertheless he was soon afterwards brevetted a captain for gallantry at San Pasqual and a major for San Gabriel and the Mesa.

Soon after the Mexican War, Emory became the astronomer for the United States boundary commission established to survey the new boundary line between the United States and Mexico.

That first boundary commission was a fine example of bureaucratic snafu. Congress wrangled over appropriating money to pay for the survey. The commissioners wrangled with each other. The employees in the field were working hard, but it is amazing to find that our government let months go by without paying either wages or the expense of subsistence.

Emory threatened to resign and made one trip to Washington just to secure fair treatment for the neglected employees. It was nearly one year-and-one-half before any money was forthcoming from the government for either pay or expenses.

Emory finished his work on the western end of the boundary in September, 1851. The balance was finished in July, 1852. Scarcely was this survey completed when the Gadsen Purchase of 1853 called for an entirely new boundary from the Colorado River to El Paso on the Rio Grande.

That brought about the secondary boundary commission. This time Major Emory was made both astronomer and commissioner. Happily the work of this second survey proceeded smoothly. When its labors were completed in 1857, Emory was brevetted a lieutenant colonel for his fine services.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Lieutenant Colonel Emory was placed in command of the Federal Troops in the Indian Territory. When he found all the country around him in a state of insurrection, he withdrew his entire command to Fort Leavenworth without losing a single soldier. The force Emory thus saved formed the nucleus for a badly needed Union army in Missouri that helped prevent the secession of the state.

Emory was brevetted four times for gallant conduct in battle. He finished the war as a major general in March, 1865. He died December 1, 1887.

Our third subject is John Mix Stanley, the artist of The Army of the

West. Lieutenant Emory employed him while Kearny's forces were in Santa Fé. This man had some very strange brushes with fate.

Born in Canandaigua, New York, in 1814, he was left an orphan while in his teens, and apprenticed to a wagon maker. When he was twenty, he went to Detroit and began his career as a painter. He soon became attracted to the American Indian and his picturesque costumes, weapons, and implements. He visited the frontier in Minnesota, Arkansas, and New Mexico, drawing and sketching the redman wherever he went. Keokuk and Black Hawk were some of the more famous subjects whose portraits he painted. In 1846 he exhibited over eighty of his pictures in Louisville and Cincinnati. His work soon attracted favorable comment and began to reward the artist financially. Stanley's work definitely heightened public interest in the American aborigines.

The story of this artist is one of a peculiar series of minor tragedies and narrow escapes. En route to San Diego with The Army of the West, he lost all his personal belongings but saved his sketches and paintings.

Most of the drawings that illustrate Emory's Notes are the work of Stanley. One picture entitled "Kearny's March" that has been gathering dust in the National Archives in Washington is a spirited drawing of the dragoons painfully descending the rugged Gila River canyons. Apparently it has never been reproduced. I plan to have it used as one of the illustrations of Turner's journals.

At the close of hostilities, the government requested Stanley to make a collection of articles of dress, implements, and utensils of the California Indian tribes. When he had completed this rather difficult task, he shipped the collection to Washington. The vessel carrying it was lost at sea.

Stanley next went to Oregon. While on his way to visit Marcus Whitman at his Waiilatpu Mission, some Indian children he met on the way delayed him under some pretext. Evidently they knew of the massacre that was about to occur. Had Stanley not been thus detained, he undoubtedly would have arrived at the mission just in time to be murdered.

The artist returned to San Francisco where he planned to embark for New York, but he arrived shortly after the vessel had sailed. A few days later this steamship was lost at sea with all of the crew and passengers.



Stanley then visited the Hawaiian Islands where he painted large portraits of King Kamehameha III and his queen. The pictures are hanging in the throne room of Iolani Palace in Honolulu.

Stanley was one of several veterans of The Army of the West who were employed in the Pacific Railroad surveys. Many of his sketches of the area from St. Paul to Puget Sound were reproduced in colored lithographs in the survey reports. Stanley took with him a daguerreotype apparatus, probably the first one operated west of the Mississippi River. He was the first man to photograph the American Indian.

Through the fifties and sixties Stanley painted assiduously until he had amassed a collection of a hundred and thirty-one paintings and drawings. The Smithsonian Institution had recently become established in Washington, and Stanley actively supported its work. The large halls of the institution seemed most appropriate for a public exhibition of his art; therefore in 1865 the entire collection was placed there on loan. A short time afterwards a fire destroyed most of the Smithsonian's building, and all but five of Stanley's pictures were burned with it. One large canvas that was saved from the flames is called "The Trial of Red Jacket."

Stanley returned to Detroit in 1863 and died there in 1872.

He is almost forgotten today, quite probably because of the Smithsonian fire, but it was said of Stanley at his death: "[His] knowledge of nearly all existing tribes ranks him as one of the highest authorities concerning Indian life and characteristics."

A number of years ago your society performed a very useful service in publishing the diary of Dr. John Strother Griffin, the surgeon of The Army of the West with the rank of captain. It is a very personal and uninhibited commentary on everything the good doctor did, saw, and heard. It is an invaluable source of information about the long march and the battles fought. Its author was undoubtedly the most colorful as well as rollicking personality that accompanied Kearny. Later our own City of the Angels claimed him, and for many years he was one of its leading citizens.

Dr. Griffin was born in Virginia in 1816, orphaned at an early age, and reared by an uncle in Louisville. At twenty-one he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine from the University of Pennsylvania. After a few years of private practice he became an Army surgeon.

Just thirty years of age at the time of the march west, Griffin was described by an associate as "vigorous, handsome, gregarious and delightfully profane." This addiction to swearing seems to have impressed more than one commentator. Another man wrote: "He was jolly, high-tempered and peppery and the best, most unctuous swearer I ever heard. His swearing was mellow and emphatic, strong adjectives not profane." I must confess I do not quite follow the distinction here made between swearing and profanity!

He was the all but indispensable man for the wounded at San Pasqual and later at Mule Hill. After arriving in California he ran military hospitals in San Diego and Los Angeles. Most of the next three years he spent at Army headquarters at Sonoma and Benicia.

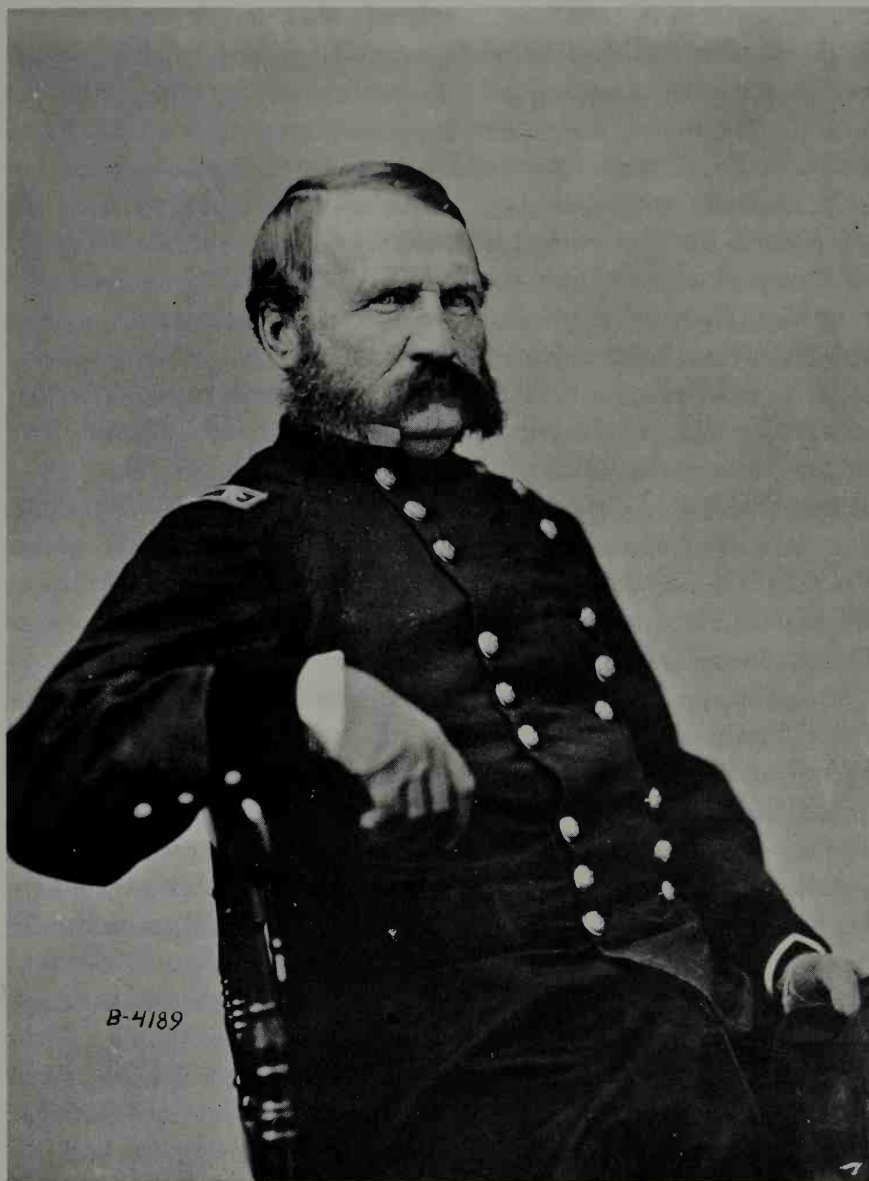
His widespread investment in California real estate eventually made him a wealthy man. While at Benicia, the doctor became acquainted with General Mariano Vallejo and his son-in-law Captain John Frisbie. The three men became partners in an investment in Napa Valley acreage.

In 1854 Dr. Griffin resigned his Army commission and returned to Los Angeles. It was almost a case of love at first sight, for in 1848 he had written, with more enthusiasm than good rhetoric: "Taking everything into consideration I think Los Angeles is decidedly one of the most desirable places I have ever been at." He immediately began to practice medicine here. It was said of Dr. Griffin some years later: "A *good* doctor for his times, aware of his own limitations and always seeking new treatments and discarding old methods. Always concerned for his patient's welfare."

In Los Angeles, Dr. Griffin became a leader in civic, business, and educational affairs. In June, 1856, he was elected superintendent of the city's schools. The same year he married Miss Louisa Hayes, the first woman school teacher in Los Angeles.

He became Los Angeles County's Physician in 1856. He helped organize the first hospital, the first water company, the first railroad line to San Pedro, and the Pioneer Oil Company. When the Los Angeles County Medical Association was organized in January, 1871, Dr. Griffin was elected its first president.

At an early date he acquired a large tract of land at Lincoln Heights and another of two thousand acres in East Los Angeles for which he paid fifty cents an acre. Probably his most important realty investment



*Courtesy of the National Archives*

**WILLIAM HELMSLEY EMORY**  
In uniform of Civil War General

was his purchase in 1860 from Don Benito Wilson of one-half interest in the Rancho San Pascual for \$4,000. Various parcels were sold off until in 1873 the remaining land was partitioned between Griffin and Wilson. The doctor took 3,962 acres which was the original site of Pasadena. Dr. Griffin later sold this holding for \$25,000.

I have earlier noted his hot temper. When we add the fact that he was a Virginian by birth, it is not surprising to learn that he held very pronounced, we might even say violently Secessionist views during the Civil War. In addition, his sister Eliza was the wife of the great Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston.

His Southern sentiments did not end with Lee's surrender. When he and Benito Wilson sold their Pasadena holdings to the Indiana Colony of Immigrants from north of the Mason and Dixon Line, the doctor, feeling they had made a shrewd bargain, told Wilson, "Now we'll get even with the Damyankees." Dr. Griffin was one of those who spelled this epithet as one word. Looking back nearly a century at that sale of the heart of Pasadena for about \$7.00 an acre, one feels that perhaps the Damyankees had the last laugh.

Another instance of Griffin's temper has a tinge of sardonic humor. He had been one of the organizers and directors of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank in 1871. That brought him in close and friendly association with the bank's founder and president, Isaias W. Hellman. At that time Los Angeles had no rail connection with the outside world. A little later a movement was started to bring the Southern Pacific Railroad into the city. The railroad demanded a subsidy. The community split violently on the issue. Banker Hellman was one of the leaders of the Pro-Railroad Party. Dr. Griffin was a leader in the Anti-Railroad camp that bitterly opposed the subsidy.

On the day of the election, Dr. Griffin got into a violent argument with banker Hellman and became so infuriated that he struck Hellman over the head with his cane. The blow made a long scalp wound that bled freely. Hellman was taken home by his friends. His wife was horror stricken at his appearance and tearfully insisted that a physician be called at once. Her husband at last consented, and she asked whom she should summon; he answered, "O send for old Doc Griffin."

The doctor continued the practice of medicine in Los Angeles until 1885. He passed away in this city on August 23, 1898. I am looking for-



ward with much interest to the biography of Dr. Griffin, which I understand Viola Lockhart Warren is now writing.

So much for the men who actually marched west with Kearny.

Before considering our fifth and last subject, Philip St. George Cooke, I must devote a little time to the Mormon Battalion which he led. We must remember that General Kearny had given the order that created the battalion and had appointed its commanders. Therefore the battalion should definitely be included among those who served under Kearny. On learning of the death of the original commander, Kearny in one of his wisest decisions named Cooke to replace him.

I will not attempt an account of the epic march of these three hundred and sixty men—one of the most arduous in military annals. As a subordinate of General Kearny, Cooke became a critically important figure in the history of the American West. Not only did he successfully surmount all the obstacles of mountain and desert, but he transformed a raw and fractious aggregation into a highly disciplined and efficient military unit.

Cooke was also an author of no mean ability. His books add much to our knowledge of Southwestern history.

John C. Frémont on January 16, 1847, had bluntly refused to obey the orders of his superior officer, General Kearny. Kearny at the moment had only a few dragoons in his command. They were inferior in number and equipment to Frémont's own California Battalion, even without the sailors and marines of his sponsor, Commodore Stockton. Fourteen days later Cooke's arrival at San Luis Rey with his tough and seasoned Mormon Battalion completely changed the balance of power. Kearny now had the military strength to enforce his commands. Henceforth Frémont would rant, strut, and portray himself as a badly persecuted martyr, but he no longer could determine the course of history in California. Cooke's presence on the scene during that spring of 1847 was vital, pivotal. In its farthest implications it had its influence on later events in our nation's history.

Much of Cooke's importance was due to his personality and professional capacity. Not just any commander of the Mormon Battalion would have measured up to the challenge. Cooke was not a Mormon. He was a stranger to these men when chance placed them under his command. But in the months of incredible obstacles and hardships through

which he led them, he won not only their obedience but devoted respect. Later one said of him: "He had a good, generous heart. He entertained great respect for the Mormon Battalion and he always spoke kindly of them before the government and all men." When they arrived in California, one of their officers told Cooke: "They will follow where you dare to lead. They will obey only God, Brigham Young and Philip St. George Cooke."

The battalion's term of enlistment expired in that spring of 1847. Brief as was their stay in California as a military unit, they not only exerted strong influence on subsequent events but left an indelible mark on early California. Although many started east to rejoin their fellow Mormons in Utah, many others scattered through California; and you will find Mormon gulches, Mormon bars, the Mormon Trail where they labored here. The four white men who helped John Marshall build the mill at Coloma were former members of the Mormon Battalion. Other Mormon veterans discovered the second rich placer in the earliest days of the Gold Rush—at Mormon Island, fifteen miles east of Sutter's Fort. They appear, too, in the early records of Alpine, Amador, Inyo, El Dorado, Mono, and Tuolumne counties.

Here in Los Angeles they finished the construction of Fort Moore started by Emory. In San Diego they worked on Fort Stockton and at an early attempt at coal mining at Point Loma. Their most enduring record in Southern California was probably their founding of San Bernardino.

In the life of their commander, Philip St. George Cooke, there was much tragedy. He, too, was a native of Virginia, born in 1809. When his father died, kindly neighbors helped him obtain an appointment to West Point. He graduated from the academy at the age of eighteen.

He was something of a romantic in the mold of a knight errant. His personal code compelled him to adopt the harder alternative if conscience pronounced it the right course to follow.

The outbreak of the Civil War found him in command of a remote frontier post in Utah. When his native state of Virginia seceded, a great many other army and navy officers from the Old Dominion promptly resigned their commissions and offered their services to the Confederacy. Philip St. George Cooke was under the greatest pressure to do likewise. He was the father of one son and three daughters. His son who

was also an officer in the United States Army resigned his commission and cast his lot with the South. Two of his daughters were married to officers who followed the same course. One of these sons-in-law was the famous Confederate cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart. These desertions by his son and sons-in-law filled him with anger and despair. He believed that he could have prevented their occurrence had he been near his family.

In striking contrast to what seems to be the waning patriotism of our own times consider the letter that Cooke had published in a Washington newspaper early in 1861. I quote it in part: "The National Government gave me an education and a profession. . . . I made a solemn oath to bear true allegiance to the United States of America. This oath and honor alike forbid me to abandon their standard. . . . I shall remain under her flag so long as it waves. . . ."

Notwithstanding this forthright declaration, Cooke's Virginia origin and the Southern defection of most of his family made him an object of suspicion. He was not only humiliated and passed over when desirable appointments were made but assigned tasks without the requisite men and means to perform them. When failure or defeat followed, his superiors tried to make him a scapegoat. On one occasion when he was outnumbered four to one, the Confederate commander who escaped Cooke's attempt to catch him was his own son-in-law, J. E. B. Stuart.

Finally Cooke was relieved of command in the field and relegated to desk work, retirement boards, courts-martial, and recruiting service. Even so, he was brevetted a major-general when the war ended. For eight years he served at various frontier posts, but even there bad luck pursued him. He retired in 1873.

Undoubtedly this man's greatest tragedy was his estrangement from most of his children. His son John Rogers Cooke had become a Confederate general and was seriously wounded at Gettysburg. J. E. B. Stuart had been killed in battle in 1864. It is very sad to learn that Philip St. George Cooke and his son remained unreconciled for twenty-six years. This gloomy record is lightened when we find that, even before the reconciliation, the son had named one of his own sons Philip St. George Cooke. Only four years after father and son made their peace, the son died. His father lived until 1895 when he died in Detroit.

These were the varied and colorful lives of a few of the military



pioneers of California who served under General Kearny. They were not drawn here by the lure of gold or the restlessness of the adventurer. Every one who came West in those days knew he was risking his life because of Indians, wild beasts, the burning scourge of waterless deserts. But these men of the Army of the West and the Mormon Battalion ran the added hazard of death or wounds at the hands of their country's enemies. They came in simple old-fashioned obedience to orders.

Therefore let us hail them for their major role in laying the first American foundations of our commonwealth of California.



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# A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities

(continued)

By PAMELA A. BLEICH

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## UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

- 22.114 Newcomb, Rexford. *The Architecture of the Missions of Alta California*. 1915.  
Contents: effects of geography, climate, and natural resources in building the missions; principles of construction; architectural style, and the use of that style up to 1915. Sources: secondary.
- 22.115 Niesley, Margaret. *California and the Anti-Japanese Movement*. 1932.  
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- 22.117 Norris, Minna. *The History of the California Junior Republic*. 1931.  
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- 22.118 Packard, John. *The Role of the Tourist Hotel in California Development to 1900*. 1953.  
A discussion of eighteen hotels in Southern California 1870-1900, as centers of social activities, clearing houses for future citizens, and profit making enterprises. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.119 Parle, Alice. *Santa Anita Rancho: Its History and Personalities*. 1939.  
Contents: geography; early owners Hugo Reid, Henry Dalton, William Wolfskill, Harris Newmark; Elias Baldwin, the development of the race track; subdivision and urbanization. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.120 Paule, Dorothea. *The German Settlement at Anaheim*. 1952.  
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- 22.121 Peterson, George. *American Colonization of the Upper San Joaquin Valley, California, to 1860*. 1933.  
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- 22.122 Phillips, William. *Don José Antonio Julián de la Guerra y Noriega of California*. 1950.  
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- 22.123 Pollard, Genia. *Recent Development in Commerce and Industry in Southern California Using Vernon as a Type*. 1928.  
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- 22.124 Poorman, Mildred. *A History of Pasadena from 1874-1887*. 1938.  
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- 22.125 Prior, Robert. *A Historical Study of the Labor Contractor System in California Agriculture, 1868-1954*. 1954.  
The author examines labor contractor activities and facilities, and competing agencies; evaluates the abuses of the system, and discusses law enforcement as a solution to eliminating malpractices. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.126 Ramseyer, Norman. *A History of Lordsburg, California*. 1938.  
A brief sketch of the economic, social, and political beginnings of the area

now called La Verne. Sources: documents—nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

- 22.127 Riegler, Gordon. *The Attitudes of the People of Los Angeles toward Prohibition from the Recommendation of the Eighteenth Amendment by Congress to the Time of Its Adoption*. 1924.

A general history from the time of the recommendation of the Eighteenth Amendment by Congress to the time of its adoption covering: attitudes of the press, public opinion, labor faction, drinkers, Prohibitionists, etc.; the election results of 1918; effects upon crime and policing up to 1920. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; other.

- 22.128 Ritter, Elizabeth. *The History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Southern California*. 1936.

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- 22.129 Rodgers, Helen. *The Lima Bean Industry of Ventura County*. 1931.

Because of the climate and geography Henry Lewis in 1869 began the industry which has since economically influenced the whole county through the development of co-operative marketing and new grower techniques. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary.

- 22.130 Romer, Margaret. *A History of Calexico*. 1923.

Contents: geography; Spanish and Mexican exploration; American settlement; Charles Rockwood land reclamation, 1892-1900; creation of Imperial County; development of educational, social and economic institutions; organization of irrigation system, United States Customs Office, railroads, etc. Sources: documents—government (city); newspapers; secondary; other.

- 22.131 Rothstein, Mignon. *A Study of the Growth of Negro Population in Los Angeles and Available Housing Facilities between 1940 and 1946*. 1950.

A study of sociological patterns of growth of the Negro population with focus on area of concentration, available housing, and public housing projects. Sources: documents—government (federal, city); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.132 Sanderson, Lawson. *Land Ownership and Distribution in California, 1850-1950*. 1958.

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- 22.133 Sarnighausen, Olga. *A Study of County Government with Particular Reference to Los Angeles County*. 1918.  
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- 22.135 Schweitzer, Cora. *Routes Los Angeles to Ventura and Los Angeles to Kern County, 1850-1870*. 1929.  
Travel by explorers, gold seekers, mail carriers, and stage coaches over the Santa Barbara, Tulare, Oak Creek, San Fernando, and San Francisco roads. Sources: documents—government (federal, county); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.136 Seidman, Laah. *The History of the Santa Fe Railway in California*. 1930.  
Beginning with a foothold through the lease on the Mojave-Needles line obtained from Southern Pacific in 1881 Santa Fe rapidly expanded facilities—reflecting the character of the growth of the state and its problems. Sources: documents—government (federal, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.137 Simmons, Patricia. *History of the Cucamonga Ranch*. 1946.  
An account of the Mexican land grant made to Tiburcio Tapia in 1839, the succession of American owners, subdivision and land speculation, development of viticulture, the Chaffey colony, and formation of towns. Sources: documents—government (federal, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.
- 22.138 Smith, Amy. *Thomas Robert Bard, Pioneer of Ventura County*. 1933.  
From 1865 to 1915 he was superintendent of the California and Philadelphia Petroleum Company, owner of the Santa Clara Rancho, sheep raiser, land speculator, founder of Hueneme, and politician. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.139 Smith, Clifford. *The History of San Fernando Valley with Special Emphasis on the City of San Fernando*. 1930.  
This study was limited to the northern part of the valley, 1769-1929, covering: the geography; founding of the San Fernando Mission; secularization and land grants, succession of land ownership to Porter, MacClay, Lankershim, and Van Nuys; the development of towns; the building of the aqueduct; and annexation to Los Angeles. Sources: documents—gov-



ernment (federal, state, city), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

- 22.140 Smith Sanford. *A History of the First Baptist Church of Riverside, California with Particular Reference to Its Relation to the Community*. 1950. A study of the church as an educational agency, source for other churches; and movements, trends, attitudes, and objectives of various leading pastors reflecting the growth and development of the community. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

- 22.141 Smith, Winifred. *The Controversy between Arizona and California over the Boulder Canyon Project Act*. 1931.

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A prominent Los Angeles ranchero from 1834-1894, Coronel held local and state public offices, supported public schools, was a member of the vigilance committee, supported the California Indians against the federal government. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.143 Spaulding, Imogene. *The Attitude of California to the Civil War*. 1913.

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- 22.144 Spriggs, Elisabeth. *The History of the Domestic Water Supply of Los Angeles*. 1931.

The story from 1871-1902, of the development of the municipal water system, the importance of the Los Angeles River to that system, and a biographical sketch of William Mulholland; and background on water distribution during the Spanish and Mexican periods. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.145 Starr, Richard. *History of Antelope Valley, California from 1542-1920*. 1938.

Contents: geography and natural history; Indians; Spanish and American exploration; American settlement; railroad construction and the land boom of the 1880's; construction of the aqueduct and irrigation project; expansion of agriculture; development of cities and industry. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.146 Steele, Martha. *The Manila Galleon and Trade Relations between the Philippines and New Spain, 1521-1811*. 1925.  
Emphasis has been placed upon the discovery, exploration, and conquest of the Philippines and the application of the Spanish commercial policy to colonial trade. Some information is presented on the exploration of the coast of Alta California for a port and route for protection against English and Dutch attacks. Sources: manuscripts; secondary.
- 22.147 Stewart, Etta. *Life and Activities of William Walker*. 1932.  
From 1824-1860 Walker was a San Francisco doctor, lawyer, journalist, filibuster in Baja California, international outlaw, and president of Nicaragua. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
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Contents: exploration and settlement during the Spanish and Mexican periods; American settlers; community influence of Robert Stockton and John Frémont; economic, political, and social development of the area; sketches of legends and traditions. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; other.
- 22.149 Sylva, Seville. *Foreigners in the California Gold Rush*. 1932.  
An account of those who went to the fields as miners and for economic gain from the miners; the social, economic, and political influence of foreigners in the mines and San Francisco. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; other.
- 22.150 Talbot, William. *Long Beach, 1888-1925: a Study in Municipal Government*. 1947.  
An interpretation of urban development—political, economic, social, and cultural. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.
- 22.151 Thacker, Mary. *A History of Los Palos Verdes Rancho, 1542-1923*. 1923.  
Contents: the area prior to the grant of 1846; the rancho during the Mexican period; partition of rancho lands due to debts during the American period; the Palos Verdes Estates project. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); periodicals; secondary.
- 22.152 Thomas, Eleanor. *The History and Settlement of the Owens River Valley Region*. 1934.  
From 1833 to 1913 covering: geography; American exploration and settlement; cattle ranching; Indian problems; formation of towns; organization of county; socio-economic problems and development; construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.153 Thompson, Edward. *The History and Development of South Pasadena to 1917*. 1938.

South Pasadena from 1769 to 1917, with emphasis on the American period and the social, economic, and political development of the city. Sources: documents—government (city); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

- 22.154 Thompson, Irene. *Los Angeles, 1850-1870*. 1944.  
Social, economic, and political changes in an era of transition. Sources: documents—government (county); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.
- 22.155 Thornton, Corliss. *Secularization of the Franciscan Missions of Alta California*. 1909.  
An analysis of the mission system; church-state relations; methods of secularization; colonization; mission properties; and religious and political occupation of the area. Sources: documents—government (federal); secondary.
- 22.156 Tompkins, Ida. *A History of the Juvenile Court of Los Angeles County*. 1936.  
Growth and development of the program, 1903-1936, covering the struggles of adequate juvenile laws, establishment of community coordinating councils, court facilities and personnel. Sources: documents—government (federal, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.157 Tower, Grace. *Sentiment in California for American Government and Admission into the Union*. 1926.  
An account of the social, economic, political basis for the sentiment; events leading up to the Constitutional Convention; reactions of Californians to the news of admission. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.158 Tracy, Muriel. *The Life of Benjamin D. Wilson*. 1934.  
Wilson as fur trapper and trader, soldier, Indian agent, politician, railroad builder, vineyardist and horticulturist, realtor, and founder of Wilson College in Wilmington. Sources: documents—government (county); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.
- 22.159 Tyler, Pamela. *The Los Angeles Theatre, 1850-1900*. 1942.  
Contents: early theatrical institutions and personalities; various types of presentations; contributions of Temple, MacLean, Morosco, Behymer, Dobinson, Lehman, Modjeska; background of Mexican period. Sources: newspapers; secondary; other.
- 22.160 Utter, James. *The Territorial Expansion of Los Angeles*. 1946.  
An account of expansion, its causes and effects; 1740-1940. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.
- 22.161 Uzés, Ernest. *French Activities in the Pacific from 1786 to 1850, with Particular Emphasis on California*. 1955.  
The expedition of La Pérouse, Etienne Marchand, Camille de Roquefeul,

Auguste Du Haut-Cilly, Abel du Petit-Thouars, Cyrille Laplace, Eugene Dufflot de Mofras, and Joseph Rosamel which came to California for scientific purposes, naval missions, to study trading prospects, etc. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

- 22.162 Voget, Lamberta. *The Germans in Los Angeles County California, 1850-1900*. 1933.

An inquiry into why the Germans came to the Los Angeles area and settled at Anaheim, and into their social, economic, and cultural activities which kept them from being assimilated by the rest of the population. Sources: documents—government (federal, county, city), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.163 Wagner, Winona. *A Study of the Voyages of the First Four English Navigators Who Touched California Soil, with Especial Reference to the Relation to the Coast of California and the Northwest*. 1922.

An account of explorations and claims made for England by Drake, Cavendish, Rogers, Shelvock. Sources: secondary.

- 22.164 Waite, Carleton. *Senator Thomas Hart Benton's Interest in the Far West*. 1933.

A study of Benton's expansionist activities toward bringing California and Oregon into the United States, touching upon the slavery issue, land legislation, federal control of gold mining, and the Pacific Railway. Sources: documents—government (federal); periodicals; secondary.

- 22.165 Wallace, Katherine. *John Temple, a Los Angeles Pioneer*. 1933.

Temple as businessman, ranchero, local politician, and civic leader, 1826-1866. Sources: documents—government (city); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.166 Warden, William. *The History and Development of the Artificial Harbor of Los Angeles*. 1957.

The harbor area from discovery in 1542 to 1957—its early history up to 1888, city planning for a deep water harbor to 1912, beginning of construction in 1912, and the parts played by Willard, Houghton and White. Sources: documents—government (federal, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.167 Westin, E. F. *A Half Century of Development of the Second Constitution of the State of California as Regards the Executive, Judicial, and Legislative Departments, 1879-1928*. 1928.

The effect of the passage of constitutional amendments since 1879 on the operation of these three departments. Sources: documents—government (state); periodicals; secondary.

- 22.168 Weststeyn, Lela. *The Expansion of the Land Grant System under the last Two Mexican Governors*. 1936.

A study of the years 1836-1846—a comparison of Manuel Micheltorena's



and Pío Pico's land grant policies, grants made, etc. Sources: documents—government (provincial, federal, state); newspapers; secondary.

- 22.169 Weyer, Mary Anita, Sister. *A Survey of the Development of the Catholic Church in California under the Diocesan System to 1853*. 1948.

Traces the growth of the Catholic Church during the time of the establishment of the episcopal jurisdiction in 1840 to its becoming permanent in 1853. Shows what part the establishment of a diocesan system had in maintaining the church in California. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.170. Whedon, Hazel. *The History of the Roads, Trails, and Hotels in and Near Yosemite National Park*. 1934.

An account of the discovery in 1851 and successive exploration, and the development of roads, facilities, and railroad transportation to make it a year-around recreational area. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

- 22.171 Wieman, William. *The Separation and Organization of Orange County*. 1938.

Brief history of the county, 1769-1889, with emphasis on the creation of the county in 1889. Sources: documents—government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

- 22.172 Wiggs, Anna. *The History of Los Angeles City Government under the Second Charter, 1889-1925*. 1928.

An emphasis of the 1889 Charter and operation of government under that charter, and the steps that led to the adoption of a new charter in 1925. Sources: documents—government (state, city); newspapers; secondary.

- 22.173 Wilmoth, Ray. *California Experiences of Prominent Civil War Generals Prior to the Pre-War Period*. 1955.

An account of the assignments of Generals John C. Frémont, Henry W. Halleck, Albert S. Johnston, Joseph Hooker, Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, Philip H. Sheridan, George Stoneman, and Edward R. S. Canby. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.174 Wilson, Alberta. *Social and Economic Aspects of Los Angeles in 1846*. 1937.

A description of the pueblo and the surrounding ranchos and connecting caminos prior to the American conquest. Sources: documents—government (county); manuscripts; secondary; other.

- 22.175 Wilson, Iris. *William Wolfskill and the Development of Southern California*. 1957.

Wolfskill as pathfinder, fur trapper and trader, pioneer commercial citrus grower and viticulturist, and land speculator: Sources: documents—gov-

ernment (federal, state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.176 Wimmer, Geraldine. *Social and Economic Aspects of French Activities in Early California*. 1940.

The rôle of the French in California history, 1785-1860. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

- 22.177 Wright, Mabel. *The History of the Pacific Electric Railway*. 1930.

An account of transportation in early Los Angeles and the building of the Pacific Electric, a rapid transit system, by Henry Huntington; and the status of that system as of 1930. Sources: documents—government (county), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.178 Zimmerman, Dorothy. *History of the Elsinore Region, Riverside County, California*. 1934.

Contents: geography; Indians; Spanish explorations; Mission San Luis Rey; secularization and land grants; succession of ownership of rancho lands; American settlement; effects of the land boom of the 1880's and after. Sources: documents—government (provincial, federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.500 DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

- 22.501 Catren, Robert. *A History of the Generation, Transmission, and Distribution of Electrical Energy in Southern California*. 1951.

Contents: the formation of various small electric companies, and their struggle for consolidation into big power corporations; the beginning of hydro-electric projects; the electrification of previously isolated areas; federal and state legislation; World War II growth of the industry. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county, city), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.502 Cordray, William. *Claus Spreckels of California*. 1955.

Spreckels' place in California history, 1856-1908, as "Sugar King," railroad builder, civic leader, utilities magnate, businessman, and family man. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.503 Grivas, Theodore. *A History of California's Military Governments, 1846-1850*. 1958.

A study of the establishment of military authority, the extent of that authority prior to and after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, alcalde rule, and public dissatisfaction with and dissolution of military government in California, July 7, 1846, to December 20, 1949. Sources: documents—government (foreign, federal, state); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.504 Hamilton, Robert. *The History and Influence of the Baptist Church in California, 1848-1899*. 1953.

A survey of the church's contributions as a community institution dealing with problems in education, race relations with the Indians and Chinese,

social welfare, state legislation, religious organization, and as a publication agency for furthering Baptism. Sources: documents—government (state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.505 Haussler, John. *The History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in California*. 1945.

A description of the origins of the church, its organization, development, and expansion in the Bay Area; development and activities in the evangelical, medical, publishing, and educational fields throughout California. Sources: documents—nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.506 Hoyt, Franklyn. *Railroad Development in Southern California, 1868 to 1900*. 1951.

This paper is available only on microfilm in the Graduate Study. The author discusses the economic, political, and social aspects of railroad construction, organization, and development from the building of the first Los Angeles railroad to the defeat of the Southern Pacific harbor scheme. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county, city), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.507 Liljekvist, Clifford. *Senator Hiram Johnson*. 1953.

A brief biography and evaluation of Johnson as a youth, a lawyer, a governor of California, and a U.S. Senator, with emphasis on the national aspects of his career—the presidential aspirations and accompanying events, and Senatorial accomplishments. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.508 McAllister, Walter. *A Study of Railroad Land-grant Disposals in California with Reference to the Western Pacific, the Central Pacific, and the Southern Pacific Railroad Companies*. 1939.

Emphasizes the methods employed and difficulties involved in by the railroad companies in disposing and transferring title of land grants made by Congress to aid construction. The author accounts for all acreage disposed and transferred. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

- 22.509 Pulling, Hazel. *A History of California's Range-cattle Industry, 1770-1912*. 1944.

The author has emphasized the period following 1850. The Spanish and Mexican periods have been treated as background for study of the industry and its change of character due to land laws, fence laws, drought, disease, use of public and private range lands, rise of agriculture, deterioration of range herbage, restriction of grazing areas, increase in population, transition of large herd raising to individual small farmers, scientific herd raising,

cultivated pastures, and feeding lots. Sources: documents—government, (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.510 Ridout, Lionel. *Foundations of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of California, 1849-1893*. 1953.

The church as a community institution as portrayed through the activities of four priests (Thaddeus Leavenworth, Flavel S. Mines, John L. Ver Mehr, and William I. Kip), and as a unit organization dealing with education, social welfare, race relations, and diocesan organization and growth. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

- 22.511 Wood, Richard. *A History of the Calaveras Region of California*. 1950.

Contents: exploration by Moraga, Vallejo, and Frémont; finding of gold and the growth of mining camps; striving for county government and law enforcement in the mining camps; various successful mines; organization of church and educational institutions. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

#### WHITTIER COLLEGE

- 23.0 MASTER'S THESES

- 23.1 Chamberlain, Richard. *The El Paso Mountains: a Typical Desert Area*. 1957.

Traces the history of the area as a resource unit for teaching social studies. Sources: documents—government (state, county); periodicals; secondary.

- 23.2 Cole, Raymond. *A Historical Study of the American Military Operations in the Conquest of California (a Resource Unit for Junior High School Teachers of California History and Government)*. 1958.

Emphasis is placed on the Bear Flag Revolt, the seizure of Monterey, Flores' revolt in Los Angeles, and the conquest of Los Angeles. Sources: secondary.

- 23.3 Gardner, Vivian. *Profile of a Revolution: California Press Reaction to the Russian Revolutions, 1917-1918*. 1958.

An analysis of California newspaper coverage and editorial opinion of the revolutions. Sources: newspapers; secondary.

- 23.4 Groeling, John. *A Historical Study of the Early Developments of Bellflower, California*. 1954.

A brief history from about 1866 to 1912 covering geography, early American settlers, and the growth and development of the community. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

- 23.5 Hoult, Thomas. *The Whittier Narrows Dam: a Study in Community Competition and Conflict*. 1948.



An analysis of the controversy over the dam, 1931 to 1948. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; secondary.

- 23.6 Sheets, Dorothy. *Anti-Japanese Agitation in California Studied at Three Periods of Crisis*. 1943.

Covers the periods of the San Francisco school board ruling, Japanese occupation of Siberia, oriental exclusion act of immigration, and exclusion during World War II, 1905 to 1942. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

## NEW BOOKS

*A Journal of Explorations Northward along the coast from Monterey in the year 1775* [by] Fr. Mig.<sup>a</sup> de la Campa. Edited by John Galvin. (San Francisco: John Howell-Books, 1964. 67 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

An elegantly printed book in the superb style of Lawton Kennedy, published by Warren Howell, and sponsored by editor John Galvin, this work provides one more building block of knowledge for an understanding of the maritime history of the Pacific Coast. Franciscan Father Miguel de la Campa's journal kept aboard Bruno de Hezeta's *Santiago* during the 1775 exploratory expedition is herein satisfactorily translated.

A key exploration, this sortie, consisting of two naval vessels, was responsible for the first Spanish possession-taking ceremonies north of modern California, the legalistic formula for extending Spain's control being performed in several places. It was also on this expedition that the Spanish explorers anticipated the U.S. Captain Robert Gray in discovery of the Columbia River, which was named the *Entrada de Hezeta*, but the existence of which was only noted without penetration. After the two exploratory vessels parted company off the Northwest Coast on July 31, the tiny consort vessel *Sonora* made one of history's truly remarkable nautical voyages of discovery, noted briefly in Campa's journal.

This account is in nature repetitious and supplementary to numerous accounts of the same expedition kept by other participants aboard the two vessels. Unfortunately the editor has done little to compare Campa's journal with the others, except for the English translation of Mourelle, though the originals and partial translations are easily available (for example in Heizer and Mills, *The Four Ages of Tsurai*), and would have added valuable material.

As regards the Campa journal itself, this brief account is unfortunately over concerned with the day to day details of sailing—directions, winds, position, condition of sea and sky, etc. Only about a dozen pages are reflections of contemporary events and of contacts with the local Indians of such places as Trinidad Bay and the Washington Coast.

In addition to the journal, as a bonus disconnected from the theme of the work but greatly to be appreciated, are some excellent reproductions, including illustrations in color done by Louis Choris who accompanied Otto von Kotzebue in the *Rurik* to California over forty years later. Choris was not, as claimed in the introduction, the first to draw such subjects posterior to Hezeta's time, for in this the editor neglects the artists of Malaspina, as well as Vancouver and others. But Choris' splendid drawings are an added incentive for purchase of this book which will have great appeal to collectors.

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*The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah and Nevada.* By Earl Pomeroy. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. 404 pp. \$8.95.) Reviewed by D. E. Livingston-Little.

As the title implies, this is an ambitious work; in some ways the broadest

undertaking since Hubert Howe Bancroft's. The principal respect in which it differs from Bancroft's work of eighty years ago, is that it deals for the most part with the last eighty years. Skipping quickly over the early period that has occupied so much of the attention of other authors of general western histories, Dr. Pomeroy reaches the twentieth century within the first hundred pages. Having devoted one early chapter to the 1830's and '40's, and another to the Gold Rushes of the '50's and '60's, the author undertakes to examine in a third the political and economic developments that ensued during the last three decades of the century.

Professor Pomeroy next develops the thesis that despite the sparseness of western population, the Pacific Slope has always been significantly urban, and much under the influence of its metropolitan centers, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles. Opportunities for economic and social betterment offered by the region west of the Rocky Mountains attracted many of those who came west, but failure was almost as characteristic as success. The results tended to sustain the tradition of social democracy, for the rich could all remember their humble beginnings, and any man might go from rags to riches or vice versa.

Approximately the last half of the book is devoted to a discussion of great movements which have been characteristic of the Pacific Slope, the Progressive Movement and Fundamentalism. These chapters of course cover the periods from 1900 to the First World War, and the period between the Wars.

Under the title *The Far West and the Rest of the World*, the author considers the effect of the two wars on the West's attitude and relations with the rest of the world. The Pacific Slope at mid-century he describes as a fast-growing area trying both to hold on to its historical heritage and to keep up with the remarkable changes that were and are taking place.

Although the population growth was filling up the Far West, much open space remained, and the predominant interest was in learning to utilize the open areas, especially for recreation. The development of transportation has in some respects influenced the West more than other sections of the United States.

A final chapter on *The Trend of the Far West* is an attempt to interpret what is happening and to project it into the future. Certainly continued growth and change is a safe prediction.

Professor Pomeroy has presumed to discuss most of the important people and events which have shaped the Pacific Slope during the past century. There will be those who will disagree with him on some of his evaluations or interpretations. On balance, he has done a very good job, never far from the mark, and generally right on target. The style is readable, the subject matter interesting, the information copious, the research evident; both scholars and casual readers will find it worth their time, and indeed a pleasant experience to read this newest history of the West.



*Astoria or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains.* By Washington Irving. Edited and with an Introduction by Edgeley W. Todd. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. 556 pp. \$7.95.) Reviewed by Howard A. Fleming.

When *Astoria* first appeared in 1836, it was an instant success both in the United States and abroad. Its author, America's most distinguished man of letters, was hailed by the public and by literary critics for his account of John Jacob Astor's ill-fated attempt to establish dominance of the fur trade in Oregon and along the Northwest coast. In England, the *Spectator* rated it "the *chef d'oeuvre* of Washington Irving" and even the caustically anti-American Sydney Smith declared it to be an "entertaining, well written—very well written—account of savage life, on a most extensive scale." Prior to Irving's death in 1859, no less than eleven English language editions had appeared, as well as editions in French, German, and Russian.

Yet, despite its popularity, adverse criticism of *Astoria* had already begun to undermine Irving's reputation as a historian. Gabriel Franchère, one of the Astorians, stated in the 1854 edition of his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America* that he had found errors and "a want of chronological order" in Irving's work, while others argued that the polish, elegance, and romantic tone of *Astoria* suggested the unreliability of the narrative, as did the fact that Astor himself was a personal friend of the author and had actually commissioned the work. The most bitter opponent of *Astoria* as history was Hubert Howe Bancroft, who felt that Irving had prostituted his talents to produce favorable propaganda for John Jacob Astor. So devastating was Bancroft's attack that by the beginning of the twentieth century many historians considered *Astoria* to be merely entertaining fiction. An exception was Hiram M. Chittenden who, in his now-classic *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, published in 1902, defended the essential accuracy of Irving's account. Chittenden's words were largely ignored. In 1927, L. L. Hazard, in *The Frontier in American Literature*, dismissed *Astoria* as "opera bouffe," while Stanley T. Williams, whose authoritative biography of Irving appeared in 1935, quoted Chittenden's defense only after recording his own opinion that the work was "not wholly fiction."

The year 1935 marks a turning point. In that year, too late for Williams' use, there was published the rediscovered journal of Robert Stuart, leader of the returning Astorians, which verified most of Irving's account of the trip from Oregon to St. Louis. Since then other materials used by the author have been analyzed. By 1961, when the last previous edition of *Astoria* was issued as part of the Lippincott Keystone Western Americana Series, it was possible for William H. Goetzmann, coeditor of that series, to note that the present availability of Irving's sources permits one "to see how faithful he was to the facts."

However, until the present edition, it was still possible to argue that Bancroft



may have been right in his strictures against the work, for more than a century of scholarship has disclosed minor errors, and the aura of unreliability has persisted in academic circles. Editor Todd has rendered such a position untenable. With painstaking care he has reconstructed the research of the author and of his nephew, Pierre Munro Irving, who assisted in organizing the documents made available by Astor. With few exceptions Todd has been able to trace to its origins every factual statement in *Astoria*. In the main these prove to be the very sources, such as Lewis and Clark, Franchère, Long, and the Astor business records to which Irving gives a general acknowledgment in his introduction. Todd does not completely absolve Irving of every charge. In a few instances the author obviously used the methods of the modern historical novelist in reconstructing conversations or in describing some incident out of strict chronological order, but such deviations are rare. In addition to indicating sources, the editor's annotation identifies routes traversed by the overland Astorians. A series of excellent maps supplements the notes. The editor stresses the fact that the returning Astorians did not actually traverse South Pass, proving from the context that the route followed approached the western side of the pass near Pacific Springs, and then swung south of the Green Mountains for a few harrowing days of desert travel until Muddy Gap provided admittance to the Sweetwater Valley some seventy-five miles east of the continental divide.

Thanks to Todd's work, it is now possible to read *Astoria* with conviction of its basic historic integrity. The cruise of the *Tonquin* around the Horn, the tribulations of Wilson Price Hunt with the Crow Indians, the attempted passage through Idaho's Hell's Canyon, the knavery of the Indians at the falls of the Columbia, the sale of Astoria to the Northwest Company, and the desperate overland return are highlights in a moving and powerful narrative.

A word of caution seems appropriate: this edition of *Astoria* is for the serious student. Mr. Todd's editing is often obtrusive, and in some sections the reader finds more of Todd than of Irving. The casual reader, assured that Irving's credentials have been found in good order, may prefer to forego the elaborate documentation in favor of an edition that presents uninterrupted the drama that once excited a Jacksonian audience to dreams of Manifest Destiny.

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*Catholics in Colonial America*. By John Tracy Ellis. (Baltimore and Dublin: Helicon Press, Inc., 1965. 486 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Florian F. Guest, O.F.M.

Monsignor John Tracy Ellis has been known widely for many years, now, as the dean of American Catholic historians. In 1942 he succeeded his former professor, Monsignor Peter Guilday, in the difficult and demanding task of teaching and directing students in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States at the Catholic University of America. A two-volume *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* is his most outstanding work. Two recent volumes of historical essays,

*American Catholicism and Perspectives in American Catholicism*, gave promise of a general survey—a one-volume history of the American Catholic past. With this very purpose in mind, the author set to work but produced instead a book he says he had not intended to write, namely, a history of American Catholicism in the colonial period. There is little question but what such a book is needed. It but leads us to hope that a similar volume (or volumes) on the Catholic Church in the national period will follow.

Divided into three parts, *Catholics in Colonial America* tells the story of the Spanish, French, and English missions—in that order. The shortest and least satisfactory section is that on the Spanish. Here the author seems but indifferently acquainted with his material and is sometimes guilty of omission, inaccuracy, and error. When dealing with the French and English missions, however, he is much more at home, tracing with clarity, yet with a wealth of detail, the fortunes of Jesuit and other missionaries in New France and the English colonies. The history he presents is mainly narrative in character. He describes institutions with the barest brevity. He devotes but little space to the *real patronato*, for example, and presents no comparison and contrast of the French and Spanish missions as institutions. When he does generalize, e.g., in his discussion of the relative success and failure of France and Spain in their experiences with colonialism, he expresses himself briefly and with caution.

As one might have expected of a man of his intellectual stature, the author is frank, factual, impartial, and objective. He discusses with equal candor the merits of men like Serra and Garcés on the one hand and, on the other, the failure of Spanish Franciscans in Texas and New Mexico to learn native languages and of French Franciscans in Canada to oppose the trading of brandy to the Indians. He points out the success of great missionaries like Kino and Allouez but gives a blow-by-blow account of the disgraceful Capuchin-Jesuit rivalry in Louisiana and does not leave unmentioned the experience of the Jesuits in employing slaves on their plantations in Maryland.

Although the book contains no bibliography, it really needs none. To have included one would only have meant a repetition of the colonial entries in his critical bibliography, *A Guide to American Catholic History* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1959). His not infrequent footnotes keep the reader fairly well in touch with the historical literature he employed in his research. And besides, in a narrative volume that approximates a text in frontier Catholic history a bibliography is not required. The absence of maps, however, is a deficiency not easily condoned, particularly for the Spanish and French missions.

In the Spanish section one encounters a number of blemishes that mar an otherwise commendable text. In treating the Florida missions the author omits mention of the seriously damaging effect that the cruelty of Spanish gold seekers had on Spanish-Indian relations. As late as 1606 the memory of Hernando de Soto's injustice and oppression was still alive in the minds of the Indians as an obstacle to their conversion. In discussing the Portolá expedition into Upper

California, the author ascribes the Spanish advance to fear of Russian aggression and does not allude to the possibility that José de Gálvez used the legend of Russian danger as an excuse to launch a project of exploration and colonization for which he would reap the glory. On page 62 the circular letter of the Guardian of the College of San Fernando referred to the missions in Sierra Gorda, not those in Baja California, which the Franciscans did not enter until after the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. On page 98 it was Francisco, not "Juan" Palóu, who was assigned with Serra to Texas. On page 110 the *San Antonio* was seen from the shoreline on March 19 but sailed past San Diego and did not actually enter the harbor until March 23. On page 112 there was no "supposed contingent" of 250 troops at each of the four California presidios. Rather, the total of the troops at all four presidios, under normal conditions in the Spanish period, would not quite have reached that number. These are small errors that could easily have been eliminated by submitting the manuscript to an expert. It is too much to expect one man to master the entire field of American colonial history.

Misprints occur on pages 79, 156, 205, 209, 233, 241, 315, and 429.

With the removal of these unfortunate blemishes and the inclusion of maps, this otherwise excellent narrative would serve as a splendid text in the frontier Catholic history of the United States.

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*The Clan System of the Fort Mojave Indians.* By Lorraine M. Sherer. (Los Angeles: The Historical Society of Southern California, 1965. 85 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by Clifton B. Kroeber.

This first-rate monograph appeared in the March, 1965, issue of the *Southern California Quarterly*. It deals as much with names as with clans, and in both respects corrects and amplifies the very brief account by A. L. Kroeber (1925). The new information is set in a rich context of the Mohave past and present, so that what we learn here extends much beyond the central subject.

As the Mohave believe, in *First Time* the god Mutavilya created their clans; he named them and sent each one to its homeland in Mohave Valley. One hundred years ago, at the far reach of the tribal records, there were twenty-two clans. Today fifteen survive in the northern half of the nation, among the Fort Mohaves whom the author knows so well and with whom she consulted for this work. She found 438 people on the northern reservation two years ago, 319 still adhering to the clan system.

In discussing the clan's functions Professor Sherer fully explains how Mohaves are named, and what many of these personal designations mean. Women have the clan name as part of their own; but the men are "silent carriers," adopting any of a wide variety of personal names that they may change or employ concurrently as they wish. In 1905 the United States government forced the families to take English names, which they have since used for public purposes. We learn

which English family designations belong in each clan, which families have passed on since 1905, and how many Fort Mohaves were in each clan in 1963. Finally, Mrs. Sherer discusses the adaptation and erosion of clan practices in modern conditions, and how well the system holds up now.

The sources for this study are rich, and were employed with great care. Here is the first use in scholarship of the Fort Mohave Tribal Records. The author saw other manuscripts, and she talked with Indians and whites, since departed, who had lived on the reservation near the turn of this century. She worked closely with Frances Malika Stillman (chairman of the tribal council) and with other Fort Mohaves. She is aware of the pertinent publications dating since the 1850's. To get the facts straight and to preserve Mohave imagery in English, she and Mrs. Stillman leafed through Arizona photographs until they found the very cloud formation or the lowering desert sky invoked by a Mohave name. Several fine pictures accompany this study.

The author's strong and informal style makes good reading. Her scholarship is everywhere informed by her knowledge of this past century of the tribal history. As well he may, Doyce Nunis in his postscript speaks of "this distinguished study;" and he calls it ethnohistory, which it is. But the burden of this work is life.

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*Old Forts of the Far West.* By Herbert M. Hart. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1965. \$12.95.) Reviewed by Fred B. Rogers.

The book cited above is the third in a series on the Old Forts of the West. The writer of the series is a person specially fitted for those tasks. He is a major, United States Marine Corps, a graduate of Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism, an experienced journalist, and an expert photographer. Our service schools stress the axiom that there is no adequate substitute for personal reconnaissance. Major Hart is no armchair historian. He took to the field during periods of leave in order to visit the fort locations, get their feel, photograph their present aspect, and provide travel directions. This involved 40,000 miles of driving and inspection of more than 300 sites during the summers of 1962, 1963, and 1964.

The first two books of the series were: *Old Forts of the Northwest* and *Old Forts of the Southwest*, published by Superior in 1963 and 1964. For his preparation of those books Major Hart was recently awarded the Army Commendation Medal. The citation with the medal noted that the books "describe the Army as an essential force in the opening of the American West" and thus add "to an appreciation of the service and heritage of the United States Army." This admirable interservice award is quite rare, for it is based on historical writing rather than on strictly military achievement.

All of the books in the series to date are sized 8 by 10½ inches and each is of 192 pages. The large format provides space for content double that found in a



book of ordinary size and a similar number of pages. Major Hart's method is to divide his books into topical subdivisions. By thus tying in sites with events, the books are more interesting, more cohesive, and conversely less fragmented. A few examples from sections of the current work will suffice: "Column from California, Road across the Mojave, Campaigning with Crook, and Ring around the Golden Gate."

Many persons will be fascinated by Hart's short human interest stories, mostly based on garrison life. He also provides rare and current pictures, bibliographies, indexes, and directories of posts. He uses the term "fort" in its widest sense, seldom implying an actual fortification, but often including camps of comparatively short duration. His main scope in time is that of the nineteenth century, but he carries into the present in the case of old posts still in existence. His next work will be *Old Forts of the Frontier West*, due for publication in 1966.

I fully recommend all of Major Hart's *Old Forts*.

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*Oil, Land and Politics. The California Career of Thomas Robert Bard.* By W. H. Hutchinson. (2 vols.; Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965. Vol. I, 349 pp.; Vol. II, 394 pp. \$11.95.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

In an outstanding performance, W. H. Hutchinson has come up with an exhaustive, but not exhausting, two-volume biography of one of Southern California's most distinguished citizens. The author covers the three phases—oil, land, and politics—of the fifty-year career of Thomas R. Bard of Ventura County, California.

Young Bard was sent to the Ventura County area early in 1865 as the representative of Thomas A. Scott (Pennsylvania railroad king) to develop reported oil resources. He stayed, played a substantial role in the local oil story, ultimately built a small land empire of his own, got into politics, and served a term as United States Senator from California—thus leading a full and important life that ended in 1915.

The Bard family is fortunate in having chosen W. H. Hutchinson to do this job. Had they selected an academician, the results would have been forbidding indeed. Hutchinson—"Old Hutch" he likes to call himself—is an expert at research and organization, as well as being a superb craftsman. As usual, in this new production he shows himself a master of lean, wiry, and picturesque prose. If the picturesque were not kept under control it might become a mannerism. The quality of the writing brings the two-volume presentation to life, plus the fact that the author could draw heavily upon Bard's vivid, life-long correspondence, business and personal, that came to fill forty legal-size, steel-file drawers.

At the outset Old Hutch says he forswore "the artifice of invented dialogue because of feelings bordering upon the apoplectic about placing words in the mouths of those who cannot defend themselves." For this, praise the Lord!

Furthermore, he apologizes for the technicality of the chapter dealing with the early story of Union Oil Company. His apology might well have extended to the *two* oil chapters opening the second volume, for in this area I found my interest lagging. Hutchinson probably felt he had to be both lengthy and technical in these two chapters in order to give Bard his proper place in Union Oil history, as well as to round out the state's early oil story.

Where possible, Hutchinson emphasizes the dramatic, as in the near-violent squatter incident that begins the book and in the record-breaking drive Bard gave William H. Seward on the latter's trip to Southern California. The squatter story of Ventura County, as later developed, is an important contribution to one phase of California's history. Bard brought in California's first oil gusher, in 1867, and he became Union Oil's first president. Unhappily, he sold the area that finally developed into the fabulous Ventura Avenue Field.

The land phase was the one in which Bard probably took the most satisfaction. As owner of portions of several Spanish-Mexican ranchos, his contribution to their development and to that of Ventura County cannot be overestimated. One of his last acts was to create a family corporation, Berylwood Investment Company, to insure continuity of management of family assets.

The political phase began locally and carried Bard finally to the Senate of the United States, though he was defeated for re-election. Bard was a Republican, an anti-Southern Pacific machine man, an Anti-Saloon-Leaguer, but he could not stomach Theodore Roosevelt nor the Bull Moose Party. His participation in the California movement that resulted in the election of Hiram Johnson as governor and the kicking of the Southern Pacific out of the political life of the state was moderate, though his strong feelings were expressed over the years. In telling the background story Hutchinson delves deeply but, to my mind, gives too little credit to the man, Edward A. Dickson, who was the architect of that movement and the behind-the-scenes worker and wire-puller. Possibly Dickson's contacts with Bard were limited. Hutchinson does not find Bard's name attached to any legislation emerging from the Senate, but Bard was a most effective committee-man, a man of integrity and broad sympathies.

It is my belief that the Bard family would have been served equally well or better if compression had been insisted upon and the Senator given the one-volume treatment. Lovers of Ventura County and state history, however, will find this biography of great interest and full of nutriment.

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*Wagon Roads West. A Study of Federal Road Survey and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869.* By W. Turrentine Jackson. With a new Foreword by William H. Goetzmann. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965. 422 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by John A. Hawgood.

The University of California Press first published this very fine book in 1952

and then unaccountably let it go out of print. In an entirely re-set and splendidly printed reissue Yale has now put it back into circulation, to the chagrin of the second-hand book dealers and to the shame of the Berkeley Establishment, in its distinguished *Western Americana* series. A new introduction by William H. Goetzmann, late of Yale and now of Texas, is virtually the only change from the first edition, and this very usefully puts Mr. Jackson's seminal book in its historiographical perspective. A decade and a half ago this study was as much a piece of pioneering as was the surveying and building of the federally financed or subsidized Wagon Roads which was its theme. Mr. Jackson's use of the National Archives, including the hitherto untapped manuscript reports of the Pacific Wagon Roads Office of the Interior Department of the United States, was most fruitful and exemplary. Since *Wagon Roads West* other researchers (like Mr. Goetzmann himself, in *Army Exploration of the Far West*, and Wallace Stegner in his masterly *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*) have tended to make more and more use of federal records, but nobody has used them so extensively or more thoroughly.

The text of this book is not always very lively reading, for Mr. Jackson aimed at "a plain story, simply told," but the theme is exciting enough to "carry" much less colorful writing than this. On a vast terrain strewn only with Indian trails, mountain men's half-remembered forays, Frémonteeing purple passages—and the bones of those who had taken the wrong cut-off—these army surveyors and their men crisscrossed the West with well marked and easily viable wagon roads, often supported by only the most slender and evanescent of government grants. In 1860 the celebrated Edward Fitzgerald Beale, after spending his allotted \$200,000 on the 1,422 miles of road from Fort Smith to the Colorado river, was stranded in Albuquerque because Congress failed to appropriate the \$150,000 he had requested for the further improvement of that route. He had to pack up and go home, camels, greyhounds, Ali Hadji, Absolam and all (pp. 254-255), never to build another road, but to ascend to Olympus by other ways and means. Like Beale, the other federal road-builders were tough and resourceful men. They deserve full membership in the *Turner-Verein*, and Turrentine Jackson has seen to it that in all future scholarly histories of the Far West they will get their due.

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*City-Makers: The Story of Southern California's First Boom, 1868-1876.* By Remi Nadeau. (Los Angeles: Trans-Anglo Books, 1965. 168 pp. \$6.50.) Reviewed by Richard Batman.

One of the difficulties in approaching this book is to penetrate the publisher's smokescreen and discover just what it is. Despite an attempt to hide the fact that Nadeau had published a book by the same name two decades ago, and despite the fact that this work comes complete with a new publisher, a new

format, and a new subtitle, this is basically a second edition of that earlier work. Therefore it must be reviewed, not as a new book, but as a revised edition.

One legitimate reason for revising an old edition is to take advantage of more recent research. And in preparing this new edition Nadeau says he has consulted a number of books and articles published since his first edition in 1948. A glance at the bibliography, however, immediately raises the question as to the thoroughness as well as to the methods used in selecting these additional books. There are only seven that were not available in 1948, and of these seven additions five were published by Trans-Anglo Books, the same firm that is publishing this work. Of these five, two were written by none other than Nadeau himself. The list of articles is equally unimpressive with only four new additions, one of which is again by Nadeau. This method of selection would seem to fall more under the heading of advertising than historical research.

The change in subtitles from the first to the second edition indicates that the author is expanding his subject from Los Angeles to all of Southern California. Yet, at best, this expansion is highly uneven. Nadeau devotes several chapters to the Cerro Gordo and Panamint mining areas of Inyo County, but at the same time almost totally ignores San Diego. If his subject was Southern California, San Diego should have been included more thoroughly; if his subject was Los Angeles, Cerro Gordo and Panamint should have been covered much less thoroughly.

One saving grace in this particular work is the illustrations which are numerous, well chosen, and well reproduced. For anyone interested in collecting photographs of Southern California in the 1860's and 1870's, this book will be a valuable addition. But those seeking instead additional information and new interpretations of Southern California's first boom will find that this book has relatively few advantages over Nadeau's earlier work.

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*San Francisco As It Is: Being Gleanings from the Picayune, 1850-1852.* Edited and annotated by Kenneth M. Johnson. (Georgetown, California: The Talisman Press, 1964. 285 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by John Bernard McGloin, S. J.

Although, by definition, the word "picayune" means something trivial or worthless and although a newspaper in Gold Rush San Francisco was so named (but rather because of the small price it charged in comparison with its fourteen other competitors), none who peruse this present work will dare to call it a worthless or trivial addition to the field of Californiana. Quite the contrary, this volume with its authentic feel and flair has been put together with competence by a practiced author and editor who has already added eight books in the area of San Francisco and California history.

On August 3, 1850, the *Evening Picayune* made its first appearance in San Francisco with the distinction of being the first afternoon paper in the city.



After enduring vicissitudes of many kinds, the paper appeared for the last time on April 17, 1852, when it was absorbed by the San Francisco *Times* which survived only several weeks. Even though short-lived in an era when newspapers came and went quite rapidly, the *Picayune* made some quite interesting contributions to local history, and it is these which Mr. Kenneth Johnson has mined so successfully in this work. The reviewer finds it easy as well as necessary to agree with the editor's judgment that this compilation was indeed worth doing. It is fortunate that one with his background and with an interest in accuracy has here brought an exacting task to a conclusion. Surely, too, one must list among the considerable assets of this book the Introduction in depth which is here furnished. Essential to a real appreciation of what is to follow, this Introduction is both informative and interesting as, also, are the 169 footnotes at the bottom of the pages which add considerably to the fuller enjoyment of this distinguished book. Nor is the light note lacking as when, for example, Johnson remarks in footnote 44 on page 67, anent a *Picayune* comment that "the middle of the street is the most appropriate place for pedestrians. There is a healthy excitement about it, and we can all learn the art of dodging—if we don't get killed"—"The art of dodging is still valuable." Profoundly correct!

For those who want to savor the journalistic flavor of a fascinating era in San Francisco's history, Mr. Johnson's book is recommended without reservation of any kind.

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*GHP: An Informal Record of George P. Hammond and His Era in the Bancroft Library.* (Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1965. 119 pp.) Reviewed by Donald W. Rowland.

The small but handsomely printed and bound volume was issued by the Friends of the Bancroft Library as Number 13 of a "Keepsakes" series for its members. The occasion for this was the retirement of George P. Hammond as fourth director of the famous Bancroft Library. The work is arranged in a dozen essays or sections written by different persons, with these informally associated with the theme indicated in the title above.

George P. Hammond's career as historian started, very appropriately, in the Bancroft Library following completion of undergraduate work at Berkeley. His chosen field of interest was the history of the early Southwest, and after one short stint of teaching in the "foreign" land of North Dakota, the remainder of his career has been in association with southwestern universities—Arizona, Southern California, New Mexico, and California at Berkeley. Administrative duties were added to teaching when he served as dean of the Graduate School at the University of New Mexico, and became the greater part of his load with appointment as director of the Bancroft Library at Berkeley in 1946. Throughout these years he also remained a productive scholar, as evidenced by one section

of the volume under review which lists his historical studies and his contributions as an editor. The latter activity was one in which he excelled: the items in the field show his name on titles which range from multivolume series to professional periodicals.

The pages which summarize the history of the great Bancroft Collection, acquired by the University of California in 1905, contain many interesting anecdotes. Moved to Berkeley in 1905, proper organization and handling of it was the constant concern of Frederic J. Teggart, Herbert E. Bolton, and Herbert I. Priestley, successively "directors" before Hammond assumed the responsibility. The Bancroft Library wandered from space on the first floor of the main University Library to a section on the top floor, a familiar location to a generation of "Old Bancrofters" working on California and Southwestern history. A few years after Hammond became director, it was moved to a newly built Annex, its present location. It goes without saying that the various directors have been haunted by an equally important problem—money. Funds were needed to maintain an often insufficient staff, to keep the collection "alive" by the addition of new materials in the field, and to organize and catalog documents so that these may be available to scholars. The latest director must have had his full share of frustrations as well as those achievements which can be a great source of pride to him.

The tone of the volume is not at any time in doubt—it belongs to that category of publications which "point with pride to work well done," by all responsible—the director, the library staff, and organizations which have been formed to aid in its development. It is quite possible that George Hammond, when surprised by the publication of this volume, may have had to pinch himself to see whether he was still alive or reading the fulsome eulogy of a noted scholar recently deceased. But praise is well deserved, and this reviewer, himself an "Old Bancrofter" in a modest way, found the work an interesting commentary upon a great historical collection and the work of its very capable director during recent decades.

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*South from San Francisco.* By Frank M. Stanger. (San Mateo, California: San Mateo County Historical Association, 1963. 214 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by Ruth I. Mahood.

An important addition to the county histories of California was made in 1963 when the book *South from San Francisco* by Dr. Frank M. Stanger of San Mateo was completed. This is a readable, interesting, and usable local history of San Mateo County, an area whose history is so closely interwoven with that of San Francisco and the rest of the Bay Area that to tell one without portions of the other is almost impossible. So, we find a generous sprinkling of Bay Area history added to this very fine county volume.

Dr. Stanger has followed the outline generally used by most historians in telling the California story, but has ably adapted it to the San Mateo County area. The discovery of this region is handled by introducing it through a vivid description of the bay, the land, and the people as it appeared in 1769. This is followed by the mission period and then the rancho period with its Spanish land grants whose ownership was so soon to be decided by the United States Land Commission, quite often to the detriment of the rancheros.

In the magic year of 1849 when many men were rushing to the gold fields, far-sighted men moved down the peninsula to establish the redwood mills to supply the demand for building materials in San Francisco. This move was closely followed by the farming industry and subsequently merchants saw their chance to establish businesses. Such development was the forerunner of the struggle to form a new county and settle the boundaries. Now, the peninsula scene turned to the building of the big estates, those of Ralston, Stanford, Mills, and Flood to mention a few. This led to land development and San Mateo County was well on its way to become the land "South from San Francisco." Although this growth was mainly on the bayside of the peninsula, Dr. Stanger also relates the development on the coastside as well.

All these events led up to the April 18, 1906, earthquake. San Mateo County also felt the results of this disaster in more than one way. There was destruction but not as serious as in San Francisco since there were fewer buildings to be destroyed and there was no ruinous fire to follow. A greater consequence, however, was the exodus into the northern portion of San Mateo County. The peninsula was ready for this break. Transportation to the north was being realized and the subdividers were ready for these refugee home seekers. A "variegated string of towns and villages" appeared almost overnight with their problems of needed tax money for police and fire protection, street work or whatever was needed. Of necessity these towns and villages incorporated. This process has continued, and Brisbane in 1961 was the seventeenth new city.

Mutual problems have developed which have drawn the cities of the peninsula and San Francisco closer together but not without a struggle. Attempts were made to create a Greater Bay Area, but all failed. The final solution rested in sharing responsibilities for transportation, water, utilities (gas and electricity), and an international airport, for example.

San Mateo County has a heritage comparable to the other areas of California of which they may be justly proud. Nature gave them a wealth of scenery and good climate. They have a legacy of place names from the Spanish and Mexican periods and several buildings from the early American era which have been preserved and marked to become symbols of their cultural heritage.

Using the San Mateo County Museum collection and records accumulated by the San Mateo County Historical Association, Dr. Stanger has generously illustrated this volume with more than one hundred photographs and enough maps to help the reader orient himself geographically. This should prove to be

most valuable to both the residents of San Mateo County, especially the newcomers, and those from the outside areas. Let us hope other county historians will realize the importance of recording county history and fulfill a long needed gap in the local history of California by compiling their own county stories.

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*The Railroad that Lighted Southern California.* By Hank Johnson. (Long Beach, California: Anglo Books, 1965. 128 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by Donald Duke.

It has been said that God never intended Southern California to be anything but a desert; only man turned this wasteland into a paradise.

In spite of many natural resources close by, the absence of water had more influence on the development of Central and Southern California than any single factor. Because of this lack, a search was conducted in the high country for sufficient water to supply domestic, agricultural, and industrial needs. During 1911 the Pacific Light & Power Corporation undertook one of the greatest hydroelectric projects in the world—the Big Creek-San Joaquin program. This undertaking and the railroad which carried construction supplies are the prime subject of this book.

This tremendous project brought to culmination in 1929 by the Southern California Edison Company, which absorbed Pacific Light & Power in 1917, is situated some sixty miles northeast of Fresno in the high Sierra country. Big Creek is a composite of three major artificial lakes created by six dams and a series of powerhouses. The construction of these installations was accomplished only after completion of the San Joaquin & Eastern Railroad—the crookedest railroad in the West.

*The Railroad that Lighted Southern California* is a pictorial account of this most unusual railway. Henry E. Huntington, principal owner of Pacific Light, kept a vigilant eye on the construction of the rail line. Tracks were laid by Stone & Webster in a record 157 days, an engineering accomplishment, for the time. The steam locomotives which hauled in construction supplies, workmen and onlookers, were as interesting as the right-of-way itself. Of the eighteen locomotives on the roster, some thirteen were of the geared type, a unit of motive power with tremendous strength. The other five were of the conventional rod powered type.

With completion of the dams and hydroelectric plants, trains continued to curl their way into the timber country, at times carrying out logs for Shaver Lumber Company. Before long the motor truck came into general use and the twisting tracks were ripped up for scrap. The Big Creek project brought much more to Southern California than electric power, water, and an unusual railroad; it opened up a vast recreation wonderland to campers, boat enthusiasts, and tourists. The Sunday traveler of today hardly notices the imprint of the San Joaquin & Eastern on surrounding countryside.



*The Railroad that Lighted Southern California* is the third in a series of rail histories compiled by Hank Johnson, and this is his finest effort. The volume is not thick, yet contents are comprehensive and illustrations choice. The only objection might be the ponderous title which seems a misnomer.

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*Vintage Fresno: Pictorial Recollections of a Western Town.* By Edwin M. Eaton. (Fresno: The Huntington Press, 1965. 160 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by J. E. Ayres.

*Vintage Fresno* is mainly a collection of historical sketches which have appeared over the past several years in *Fresno Home Life*, publication of the Fresno Guarantee Savings and Loan Association, Fresno, California. New sketches have been included in this book, and some of the original articles have been rewritten. This collection does not make up a complete history of Fresno or even of any particular aspect of it. It is instead a compilation of brief historical notes and personal reminiscences.

Contents of the book are divided into four topics: (I) Singular Citizens; (II) The Business of Growing; (III) Pastimes in Times Past; and (IV) First Person, Singular. Included under the first topic are brief biographies of several of Fresno's outstanding personalities, among them, doctors, farmers, promoters, and a "human mole." Topic II consists of eleven vignettes representing a sample of Fresno's businesses. Among these are articles about hotels, banks, and office buildings, both past and present. This is the strongest feature of the book and one, with the exception of Topic IV, with which the author displays the greatest familiarity. Brief accounts of the opera house and musical and fishing clubs appear under Topic III. The reviewer finds the placement of "The Frank H. Short Home," "The F. Dean Prescott Home," "Fresno County's Venerable Courthouse," and "Fresno's Pedestrian Malls" as a part of this topic inconsistent with its title. However, this does not detract from the readability or usefulness of the book. Topic IV presents sketches of the author's childhood and youth, school and travel, and later marriage and family life. Although this section is highly personal these selections are readable because they do not have the usual "family genealogy" flavor. In addition, they are generally light and are written with a sense of humor rarely found in books whose contents concern themselves with local history.

As some names and subjects appear in as many as six separate sketches, a very useful feature of the book, especially to the student of history of the Fresno area, is its index.

One objection many will raise is the cost of the book. The price of \$10.00 puts it out of reach for many who would find the book of interest. This is, I suppose, a necessary curse of limited editions.

This collection of forty sketches makes a very interesting and delightful book which would be worthwhile to add to any library. The dust jacket states, "Here

is the first collection of Edwin M. Eaton's historical sketches in book form." If another collection of his sketches is forthcoming and is as well written and as entertaining as these they should be well received.

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*Bolinas: A Narrative of the Days of the Dons.* By Marin W. Pepper. (Hollywood: Vantage Press, 1965. 181 pp. \$3.50.) Reviewed by James M. Jensen.

*Bolinas* is a delightful book. While being a work of fiction and thus not a history of California, the story involves much of the history of California from 1775 to the close of the nineteenth century. It records the exploration and settlement of California during the Spanish and Mexican period, the mission life, social customs, the Mexican War, the Gold Rush, and the subsequent breakup of the land grants. These historical events are interwoven into a narrative concerning the Briones family, particularly the life of Gregorio Briones and his wife Ramona who became the grantees of Rancho de los Baulinas, Marin County, California.

While the narrative centers around the Briones family, the reader is given a broad coverage of the individuals who played a prominent role in the early history of California. One must be cautious in accepting the historical authenticity of the activities of these individuals. The author uses historical characters and events to set the stage for her novel. The conversations are, of course, invented.

One wonders whether the author of an historical novel changes the names of historical characters or does not accurately record them. When so many of the individuals, for example: Anza, Vallejo, Solá, Pico, Moraga, Castro, Argüello, Frémont, Kearny, Richardson appear accurately, one questions the use of Iterbod (p. 56) for Iturbide; Enchandía (p. 58) for Echeandía; Jacob Leas (p. 92) for Jacob Leese; Micheltorea (p. 121) for Micheltorena. One wonders about a Father Paloris (p. 68) "the spiritual leader of the colony, who had carried on beloved Father Junípero Serra's ideals."

The author's most notable contribution is her description of the social customs and family life of the Spanish settlers. There is still joy to be found in reading such passages as (p. 68): "When the slow oxen stopped to rest, the hauntingly sweet melody of meadow larks supplanted the harsh screech of wheels, and pungent odor of sage and laurel mingled with the perfume distilled by the sun from the wealth of wild flowers and hung heavy in the warm air. Scattered oaks offered gracious shade, and several times the travellers rested at hospitable haciendas, where they were always sure to be urged to tarry."

Marin W. Pepper, an octogenarian, has, in her first book written a work of lasting merit. Although there is little new material for California historians, the book is an accurate, though somewhat nostalgic, account of the days of the Dons. The story of *Bolinas* is enjoyable reading.

# Book Notices

By ANNA MARIE AND EVERETT GORDON HAGER

*Edward H. Davis and the Indians of the Southwest United States and Northwest Mexico* was compiled and edited by Charles Russell Quinn and Elena Quinn (Downey, California: Elena Quinn, P.O. Box 14, 1965. 224 pp. \$17.95). This is a unique and rare study filled with sketches of the unpublished manuscripts of a remarkable personality, Edward H. Davis who assisted in assembling the great collections of ethnological materials reposing in the Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation and the Southwest Museum. The Introduction by Carl S. Dentzel, director of the Southwest Museum, points up the great debt owed such a man as Edward H. Davis. Observations of the Luiseño and Diegueño Indians of Southern California as well as of those of Northwest Mexico and Baja California are depicted in his remarkable photographs and sketches, all of which marked Davis as a natural ethnohistorian. This work of the Quinns so thoughtfully and carefully prepared will long serve as a treasure trove of information about these little known areas.

Other recent publications concerned with the Indians of the California scene include Ed Ainsworth's *Golden Checkerboard* (Palm Desert: Desert-Southwest, Inc., 1965. 195 pp. \$6.00). It is devoted to the Cahuillas of Palm Springs and the fine work of Justice Hilton McCabe in their behalf. Temecula Valley's historian, Horace Parker, presents another of his fine small studies on the valley he knows so intimately—*The Early Indians of Temecula* (Balboa Island: Pasiano Press, Inc., 1965. 34 pp. \$1.00). Published by the Historical Society of Southern California, Dr. Lorraine M. Sherer's *The Clan System of the Fort Mojave Indians* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1965. 86 pp. \$7.50) is well illustrated and footnoted and will soon prove the definitive study on these people.

A paperback reprint by Harper Torchbooks, capably edited by Andrew F. Rolle, is Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965. 342 pp. \$1.95) which is still one of the better studies of the early crusades for Indian reform. The last Indian subject publication is very much restricted to the study of linguistics of the Kashaya of the Sonoma coastal region of California. *Kashaya Texts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964. 342 pp. \$6.00). Robert L. Oswalt has done a notable piece of research in compiling sixty-nine myths and folk legends ranging from the creation of the ocean, people, and coastal creatures. Hidden among these legends is valuable material on Fort Ross and the sea otter hunting along the Sonoma coast. The folklorist and historian willing to search through these 342 pages will find unusual and excellent materials. The format is interesting in that the *Kashaya* text appears on the *verso* while the English on the *recto*.

Every now and then unusual items pertaining to California appear in journals or university publications not usually associated with Californiana. A fine new informative book is Paul K. Conkin's *Two Paths to Utopia: the Hutterites and the*

*Llano Colony* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964. 212 pp. \$5.00). Much material on Job Harriman and the rise of the Socialist Party in Southern California and Los Angeles of the early 1900's will be found in Mr. Conkin's work. This study presents two accounts which focuses the difference between religious and secular communism and points out their successes and failures.

Two little known overland journals have been edited by Howard L. Scamehorn in his *Two Buckeye Rovers in the Gold Rush* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1965. 196 pp. \$5.00), which is enhanced with a three-page map depicting the southern and northern areas of the Gold Rush regions and is filled with copious notes. From the emigrants who went by way of the Platte and South Pass in 1849 more than 130 extant diaries or journals exist. Ohioans penned at least fifteen, seven of which have been published.

Glen Dawson, since 1961, has published for those interested in jurisprudence within the structure of our California courts *Famous California Trials*. Number V of the series is Viola Lockhart Warren's most welcome addition, *Dragoons on Trial: Los Angeles, 1847* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1965. 82 pp. \$9.00). Mrs. Warren has included little known details of the noted United States Army Company C of the First Dragoons, who were stationed in the little pueblo of Los Angeles in 1847. Descriptions of buildings, places of amusement, method of discipline, and attitudes of soldiers and citizenry are very well depicted.

*The Gold of Old Hornitos*, as told to William B. Secret by Francisco Salazar (Fresno, California: Saga-West Publishing Company, 1964. 32 pp. \$1.00), provides some interesting material on Joaquín Murrieta and is well illustrated for so small a publication.

Spencer Crump's Tab Books, entitled *California's Spanish Missions: Yesterday and Today* and *252 Historic Places You Can See in California* (Los Angeles: Trans-Anglo Books, 1965. 64 pp. \$1.00 each), contain excellent photographs as well as indexes and make fine paperback bargains.

For those interested in Monterey, the Monterey Savings and Loan Association, P.O. Drawer 790, Monterey, issued a splendid booklet containing fifty full-page illustrations of the historic landmarks within Monterey gratis. *The History of the Miracle Mile*, by W. W. Robinson, is a sixteen-page, well illustrated pamphlet, and it is gratis from Columbia Savings and Loan Association, 5420 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles.

A valued and much sought for item of Arizoniana will be the *Acceptance of the Statue of Eusebio Francisco Kino*, which is found in the 89th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 158. Published by the United States Government Printing Office (Washington, D.C., 1965) it contains 47 pages and can be obtained gratis from your Congressman.

An elementary school librarian of Los Altos has created an interesting study for young library patrons. The volume, entitled *Gold Dust and Petticoats* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1964. 180 pp. \$3.50), depicts San Francisco and the Gold Rush for juvenile readers.



## HISTORIES OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

### SAN FRANCISCO SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION

SAN FRANCISCO Federal Savings & Loan Association's origin stems from the foresight of a group of Bay Area businessmen who believed the community needed the services of a federally chartered savings and loan institution. Headed by Charles F. Masten, the founders included such notable business figures as William I. Garren, E. W. Wilson, George R. Gay, Henry H. Gutterson, William E. Hague, Lester W. Hurd, Frederick H. Reimers, Kernan Robson, H. W. B. Taylor, and Clarke E. Wayland. Wayland, Hurd, and Masten continue to serve as directors after more than thirty years.

Their application, filed on June 5, 1935, was approved, and on August 2, 1935, San Francisco Federal Savings & Loan Association was opened—Northern California's first federal charter. E. W. Wilson was elected the Association's first president and A. E. Archibald as secretary. The office was located in the Hobart Building at 582 Market. Since its beginning, S. F. Federal Savings' concern and active participation in community affairs has resulted in a continually widening circle of friends and customers—and larger and more modern offices to accommodate them.

The Association's first move was to 705 Market where it remained until 1945 when expansion again forced a move to 79 Post Street. During this period, A. E. Archibald became president and in this post led the Association through sixteen years of growth and progress. He was followed by E. Ronald Long, who was responsible for the development of a branch program. The unique Chinatown Branch office at 1040 Grant Avenue has been acclaimed and honored by national, state, city, and civic organizations for its assistance and public service to the Chinese community.

Donald W. Mitchell, the current president, has furthered the growth of the Association to more than \$208 million in assets. S. F. Federal now has eight offices, five in San Francisco, one each in Berkeley, Palo Alto, and San Jose. Plans are now being made for an Orinda branch, scheduled to open early in 1967.

### YOSEMITE PARK AND CURRY CO.

YOSEMITE PARK and Curry Co. was incorporated in California in 1925, representing a consolidation of the Yosemite National Park Co. and the Curry Camping Co. The former corporation was itself a successor to several companies which had undergone reorganization and refinancing. Camp Curry, on the other hand, had grown modestly but steadily from 1899, when it was started with seven tents and one employee by two former Indiana school teachers, David A. and Jenny Foster Curry. Mr. Curry died in 1917, and his widow carried on, aided by her daughter, Mary, who in 1920 married Donald B. Tresidder, another native of

Indiana and a medical student at Stanford. Young Tresidder devoted increasing time and attention to Yosemite and Camp Curry while completing his medical course and actually received his degree after he had been chosen the first president of Yosemite Park and Curry Co. In 1943 he became president of Stanford University, and he held this lofty position until his sudden death in January, 1948, nine months before Mrs. Curry passed on, at the age of eighty-six. Mary Curry Tresidder succeeded her husband as president of the company, and was followed by Hilmer Oehlmann in 1963, when she became chairman of the board.

The Yosemite Park and Curry Co. has a contract with the U.S. Department of Interior to perform the services demanded by the public in the park. Some 1,567 people are employed during the summer months, and the investment in tourist facilities totals \$16,000,000.

Camp Curry, Housekeeping Camp, Yosemite Lodge, and the Ahwahnee Hotel are operated by the company in Yosemite Valley; the Mountain House at Glacier Point still functions—the only pioneer establishment in original physical state. The Glacier Point Hotel also serves visitors at this popular vantage point. The Wawona Hotel on the South Fork of the Merced also is a delightful relic of the earlier day. In its tastefully renovated condition, it retains much of the flavor of pioneer times and is one of the more favorably known family resorts in the Sierra Nevada. High Sierra Camps located on back country trails provide a unique service much appreciated by the park visitor who desires to leave behind the pressures of life in the realm of the automobile. In the Mariposa Grove is the Big Trees Lodge offering accommodations amidst the phenomenal sequoias, and at Badger Pass are up-to-date facilities which take care of 3,000 skiers on peak weekends. All told, the establishments of the Yosemite Park and Curry Co. provide a maximum of 5,000 overnight accommodations each day during the height of travel, and some 750,000 meals are served in a year.

Truthfully, 'tis to be said the Yosemite Park and Curry Co. extends a hand in partnership with the National Park Service in conducting the Yosemite program.

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JOSEPH RUSSELL KNOWLAND

# In Memoriam

JOSEPH RUSSELL KNOWLAND

1873-1966

"Uncle Joe" Knowland, as he was affectionately called by some of his younger associates, died at his home in Piedmont on February 1, 1966, at the age of 92½ years. It seems incredible that he was a member of the State of California Assembly as long ago as 1893. A little later he was a member of the State Senate. His public career was continued by his election to Congress in 1904. Mr. Knowland was, however, primarily a newspaper man, a three-dimensional newspaperman; for as publisher of the *Oakland Tribune* he had length of service, depth of coverage, and breadth of vision.

Mr. Knowland was deeply interested in the history of his native state. He was born in Alameda and attended public school there and later the College of the Pacific. He was active in the Native Sons of the Golden West and for many years the chairman of its Historic Landmarks Committee, an activity which resulted in the publication in 1941 of *California, a Landmark History*. He also served on a committee of the State Chamber of Commerce that passed on the authenticity of proposals for historic sites markers along the state highways. He was also for a time chairman of the California State Park Commission.

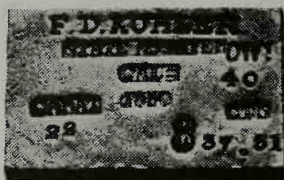
By no means the least of Mr. Knowland's contributions to California history was leadership in the California Historical Society. He joined the Society at the time of its revival in 1922 and for over twenty years, beginning in 1945, served on its Board of Trustees and as President from 1952 to 1957 and thereafter as Chairman of the Board.

For many years Mr. Knowland rarely missed the dedication of a historic site or the placing of a commemorative plaque. Always courteous and considerate, his presence on such occasions will be missed in the years to come.

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J. of Negro Educ. 1965 34(2): 130-137. Presents an abstract  
of a doctoral dissertation prepared for the University of California,  
Berkeley. The author compared Negro and non-Negro students  
relative to their assignments and participation in several areas  
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Vol. XLV

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No. 3

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The *California Historical Society Quarterly* is published quarterly, in March, June, September, and December. Subscription price \$15.00 per year payable as part of annual membership fee. Second-class postage paid at Pasadena, California. Contents copyrighted, 1966, by the California Historical Society. Office of publication: El Molino Viejo, 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, California 91108.

Postmaster: Send 3579 to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

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# The Indian Policy Under Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, California's Second Father President

By FLORIAN F. GUEST, O.F.M.

---

THE POLICY of the Spanish government with respect to the California Indians was one of peace. This fact is evident from the correspondence of the viceroys of New Spain and the governors of California. In 1773 Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli explained to Pedro Fages the importance of maintaining harmony and tranquility throughout California. The newly converted Indians were to be well treated. They should understand, said Bucareli, that they are entering a political state that offers them kindness, gentleness, and justice, and that the religion they embrace is to their advantage.<sup>1</sup> Felipe de Neve, in an instruction he left for his successor Pedro Fages in 1782, said that the principal object of the governor of California consisted in preserving perfect peace and tranquility throughout the land, maintaining friendship with the various tribes of pagan Indians. The principal means of attaining this end, he added, were kindness, gentleness, good treatment, and gifts. To provoke the numerous pagan Indians into prejudice or hostility, he warned, would be harmful to the purposes of the Spanish government.<sup>2</sup> The governor was to do all he could to promote the progress and welfare of the missions and to preserve a friendly and harmonious relationship with the missionaries. The conversion, education, government and correction of the converted Indians was to be left entirely in the hands of the missionaries, who were to stand to their charges in the relationship of fathers to children.<sup>3</sup> Any soldier who, while in service at one

---

FATHER FLORIAN F. GUEST, O.F.M., is a specialist on Spanish California civil and ecclesiastical institutions. A frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*, Dr. Guest is currently coauthoring a biography of Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Junípero Serra's successor.

of the missions, gave bad example to the Indians or otherwise failed in his obligations was, at the request of the missionary, to be removed from his post and returned to the presidio, and this without the missionary being required to state the fault of which the soldier had been guilty.<sup>4</sup> This decree reveals how careful the government was not to offend the Indians, not to prejudice them against Spaniards, nor to provoke them into anything like hostility or revolt. A moment's reflection will disclose the wisdom of this policy. Spain's resources were slender, her manpower limited, her forces already overextended. If she hoped to keep a strong hold on the coast of the North Pacific, maintain her settlements in California in security, and keep other European nations at a reasonable distance from California shores, it was essential that she preserve peace with the various tribes of pagan Indians and that she keep the newly converted Indians at the missions happy and content. Prolonged Indian wars of any kind would have been fatal to her policy in California. Besides, ever since the first beginnings of the mission system, Spain's policy in expanding her frontiers had ever been one of peace and friendship with the Indians.

Military instructions and regulations show how this policy of peace was applied in concrete situations. When the presidio of Santa Bárbara was first established, José Francisco de Ortega was put in command. The instructions he received from Governor Pedro Fages on this occasion were precise and detailed. Once the troops had encamped on the shore, Ortega's first duty was to contact the headmen of the various Indian villages in the community and to explain the presence of the Spanish in their midst. Through an interpreter, he was to explain that the Spanish had come to populate the land, to take the Indians under their protection because of love and friendship, to defend them against their enemies, to teach them to know the true God and to attain their salvation. This message was to be accompanied with kindness, gentleness, good treatment, and gifts. Once the headmen had been won over, their subjects would follow. The principal object here was the establishment of friendship by diplomatic means.

Once the walls of the presidio had begun to go up, Indians would gather around to watch. But they were not permitted to approach too closely or to gather within the compound. Military regulations required that the Indians lay down their bows and arrows and watch

the course of construction from a suitable distance. And all this was to be insisted upon without arousing their suspicion or mistrust and without showing any lack of confidence in them.

It was forbidden for any soldier to enter an Indian village on any pretext whatsoever, except only when he served as the guard for a missionary. Violation of this rule was to be punished with eight days of sentry duty in which the guilty soldier was to take the watches at night and at dawn, the most difficult, and during the course of his duty was to wear four leather jackets. This punishment, it was felt, would serve to discourage soldiers from wandering off among the villages and stirring up trouble with the Indians. If a soldier had entered a village in search of a female Indian to seduce, or if he had solicited a female Indian in or outside of a village, his punishment was to be doubled. A soldier who mistreated an Indian by striking him or who took private vengeance upon an Indian was to be punished by the governor when the details of the crime had been made known. Indians were always to be treated with love and gentleness. In transactions that might occur, they were not to be wronged by deception or violence. Indians were never to be given or sold knives, parts of a gun barrel, or pieces of a broken sword, or any metal from which they might make a weapon. The soldiers had a strict obligation to instill into the Indians love for the Christian religion and Spanish customs. For the conquest of the Indians must be spiritual as well as political, and it was in their religious and cultural education that the spiritual conquest consisted. The reduction of the Indians was of primary importance, said Fages, and its attainment consisted in the prudence, moderation, and diplomacy of the presidio commander and the discipline and obedience of the troops.<sup>5</sup>

Regulations were made for the behavior of the Indians as well as for that of the troops. If an Indian, using a spear or a bow and arrow, should wound a horse or a cow, he was to be given eight days in the stocks. If the animal was killed, the Indian was to be punished with a term of fifteen days. When the guilty Indian was set free, his headman was to be summoned as a witness. In the presence of his chief, it was to be explained to the unfortunate brave that, because of Spanish friendship for him, his punishment this time was being greatly diminished in hope that in the future he would mend his ways. But should anything like this occur again, the punishment would be much greater. Thus

duly admonished, the Indian was sent home and the cattle and horses of the cavalry were put under a stricter watch.<sup>6</sup>

Once the presidio was established and had begun to send out guards of five and six men to perform military duty at the various missions near-by, the presidio commander had ways of keeping a close watch on his men, distant though they were. The corporal of the guard at each mission kept a diary on the observance and nonobservance of military rules and regulations. Into the diary he entered an account of all relationships both with Indians and with missionaries. The diary was handed in to the presidio commander at the end of each month. Thus did the long arm of Spanish law reach out to keep in touch with Spanish soldiers.<sup>7</sup>

Notwithstanding the good intentions of the viceroys and governors, Spanish soldiers sometimes got themselves into trouble with Indian women, both pagan and Christian, and measures had to be taken to improve the situation. In 1796 Governor Diego de Borica imposed more serious punishments for such excesses. Sergeants and corporals were to be punished with arrest for two months. A second offense lost them their stripes and their command. Common soldiers were put in shackles and punished with a month's hard labor on public projects. A second offense stretched the term to two months, a third to four. Further offenses called for a court-martial.<sup>8</sup>

A matter which further illustrates the peaceful intentions of the Spanish government is the problem of legal punishments for Indian criminals and delinquents. Not all the Christian Indians of the California missions were law-abiding citizens. Crimes occurred at the missions much as they do in civilized communities today. Theft, assault, and concubinage were not uncommon. There was a place in mission annals even for murder. Take, for example, the case of Silverio and Rosa of Mission San Luis Obispo. They were adulterous lovers involved in a hopeless triangle from which there was no escape save in virtue, a course they were unwilling to follow. Silverio murdered his lawful wife, Rebecca, dragged her bleeding body to the mission, and explained that a bear had killed her. The missionary, suspecting nothing, buried Rebecca without comment. But the soldiers, more observant than the missionary, noticed that Rebecca's wounds had been made with a knife, not with a bear's claws. Questioned and accused, Silverio confessed



everything. He had been egged on to the killing by Rosa, his lover, with whom he had been living secretly in sin for one year-and-a-half and who had insisted on the murder. A trial was held, Spanish style, in the presence of Felipe de Goycochea, the presidio commander of Santa Bárbara. Witnesses were called and questioned, and sworn depositions were taken down in writing. A soldier, acting as counsel for Silverio, wrote out a defense for him. Another did the same for Rosa. Then came the decision. Legally, the punishment for the crime was hanging. But because the accused were so obviously barbarous, ignorant, simple, and primitive, Goycochea did not wish to impose a punishment so severe. Most of the Indians, he said, did not even remember the name they had been given in baptism. The case went from Goycochea to Diego de Borica, the governor, who in turn referred it to the Viceroy. The attorney of the Royal Audiencia, or Supreme Court, of Mexico, having read all the documents assembled by Goycochea, wrote out the legal reasons why the accused should enjoy immunity from the penalties imposed by Spanish law. For example, the Indians did not understand the criminality of this deed nor the justice of the Spanish legal system. Hence the ordinary punishment should not be applied to them. The Viceroy then referred the case back to Governor Borica whose sentence was as follows. Silverio, instead of being hanged, was condemned to work at the presidio of San Diego for eight years. He was to wear irons attached to his ankles and was to be employed on the launch that brought food, water, and other necessities to the small battery of artillery at the Punta de Guijarros across the bay from the presidio, thus saving the government the salary that would ordinarily be paid to another peon for the work. Rosa was to be sent for the same amount of time, eight years, to the presidio of San Francisco, where she was to work as a servant in the home of José Argüello, the presidio commander. Argüello had the obligation of feeding her, clothing her, and educating her to a Christian way of life. Thus did the Spanish government struggle mightily with a problem of justice and charity in their relationship with the California Indians. Obviously, the accused could not be hanged, and yet one had to impress upon them the importance of refraining from criminal acts of this kind in the future. Borica observed that what the Indians felt most as punishment was expatriation from their homes. Hence Silverio was sent to

San Diego, a hundred leagues away from his home in San Luis Obispo, and Rosa ended up in San Francisco, a hundred leagues in the opposite direction.<sup>9</sup> Diego de Borica, for his age, the eighteenth century, was an enlightened and humane man.

As a general rule, the correction and punishment of Indian delinquents was left entirely in the hands of the missionaries. But all *causas de sangre*, crimes of physical violence, were handled by the state in the manner described above.<sup>10</sup> Similar cases were given a similar solution. For example, there was the case of Aurelio, an Indian of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Though guilty of habitual adultery himself, he had punished his wife for the same fault, had beaten her more vigorously than he had anticipated, and, without murderous intent, had killed her. He had confessed and explained everything. Antonio Grájera, commander of the presidio of San Diego and judge at the trial, was inclined to be lenient. He felt that the accused should be set at liberty without punishment. To his mind, the death of the wife was an accident. The Viceroy, however, more sensitive to the demands of justice, condemned Aurelio to four years of hard labor on public works.<sup>11</sup> There was one case where a capital crime issued in capital punishment. Primo, a Christian Indian of Mission San Antonio, had been living secretly in illicit love with Eulalia, a married woman. At her instigation, and with the aid of a sympathetic friend named Ventura, he murdered Eulalia's husband. This time the legal decision was handed down by the Auditor de Guerra to Viceroy Marquina. (The Auditor de Guerra was the Viceroy's legal adviser in military affairs.) The Auditor, apparently unaffected by sentiments of mercy, decided that the two murderers should be hanged. Viceroy Marquina, equally unaffected, ratified the decision. On December 31, 1802, with the two Indians on their knees before him, an ensign from Monterey, in the presence of the assembled Indian community of Mission San Antonio, solemnly read the Viceroy's sentence for all to hear. Since there was no hangman in California, the sentence could not be carried out. But Spanish law automatically commuted the sentence to shooting. Accordingly, the two Indians were shot to death.<sup>12</sup> In this one instance, Spanish justice must be judged severe. As a general rule, legal decisions followed the pattern set by the case of Silverio and Rosa. After all, the Spanish policy was one of peace, and the Spanish government did not wish to impose upon

the Indians drastic forms of punishment which would only lead to hostility and insurrection.

It is evident from what has been said that some of the Christian Indians found the morality of Christian marriage difficult to observe. The missionaries, conscious of the problems the Indians met with in their transfer from a pagan to a Christian way of life, were inclined to be merciful and lenient. Observe these lines of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to his superior in Mexico City:

Last month there was a fight among the pagans in the neighborhood of San Buenaventura. Two lost their lives in it, and two others were injured. Eight Christians became involved, and these have been taken prisoners to the Presidio of Santa Bárbara.

Almost immediately after that, a Christian Indian was found dead and decapitated near the garden of the same Mission of San Buenaventura. It has now become known that the attackers were his own wife, two other Christians, and the woman's brother, who is a pagan. They are all prisoners in the presidio just mentioned. You can well imagine how grief-stricken the Fathers are.

It is their wish that those who are guilty should have the benefit of all the clemency the case allows, for although it is a shocking one, it is the work of those who little realize its gravity. Should you have an opportunity down there [in Mexico] to make a plea for clemency in behalf of this woman and the other poor creatures, we hope you will do so.<sup>13</sup>

Christian Indians were punished by the state not only for murder but also for other violations of law, e.g., assault and battery, theft, robbery, the killing of horses and cattle, and insurrection. Instances of crimes like these were not infrequent. In January of 1790 Gabriel and Constantino, two neophytes from Mission San Diego, fled from the mission, lashed and beat some pagan Indians they met, robbed them of their seeds and coral, took captive a female Indian, killed some cattle, and stole two horses. They were apprehended by soldiers and taken to the presidio, where they were condemned to three or four years of hard labor.<sup>14</sup> In 1785 Pedro Fages ordered that a group of Christian Indians who had stolen and killed cattle be given twenty-five lashes each and one month of hard labor on public works.<sup>15</sup> In 1787 he ordered that Christian Indians who killed cattle or horses be given eight days in the stocks and twenty lashes on their departure for their missions.<sup>16</sup> In 1785 at Mission San Gabriel an Indian man and woman, both Chris-

tians, had led an insurrection. The man was condemned to work in irons on public projects at a distant presidio for six years. The woman was condemned to exile from Mission San Gabriel and was required to take up her residence either at Mission San Antonio or Mission Santa Clara.<sup>17</sup> Records of small insurrections of this kind are relatively numerous. In December of 1798 eleven Indians from Mission San Francisco stole money, chocolate, shoes, thread, knives, etc., from the mission. The leaders were given thirty lashes each for three days in succession and the others were given twenty.<sup>18</sup>

The flogging of criminals and delinquents was common in western Europe at this time, and the Spaniards, children of their age, made use of the lash in punishing the Indians. In Spain flogging was never imposed on nobles, only on people of the lower classes. It was applied most especially in cases of theft or escape from prison. The prisoner was generally mounted on a burro and driven through the public streets. At every intersection he was given a certain number of lashes with a leather whip on his bare back until his punishment had been completed. As a general rule, the number of lashes for which criminals were condemned was two hundred, but the lash was not to be applied until the victim had died or been crippled.<sup>19</sup> For criminal or delinquent California Indians the number of lashes, as has been seen, was greatly diminished. In some cases the lash was not applied at all. One reads of the "incurable" Indian Mateo, a neophyte from Mission San Buena Ventura, who was condemned to hard labor at the presidio of Santa Bárbara for two months.<sup>20</sup> Incurable though he was, he received no punishment but work. Again one reads of eight Christian Indians from Mission Santa Clara who had injured cattle. They were required to work at the presidio of San Francisco. The time of their imprisonment is not given.<sup>21</sup> Finally, an Indian headman, a pagan, was kept in prison at Monterey for one month because he had hidden eight runaway Christian Indians.<sup>22</sup> Then he was set at liberty. No other punishment was prescribed. But not infrequently, it would seem, the lash was applied to Indian delinquents. Ten Indians from Mission San Diego had done frequent harm to cattle, were arrested, and were given ten to twelve lashes each.<sup>23</sup> For an offense unmentioned, a Christian Indian named Salvador and a pagan companion of his were imprisoned for four months and given twenty-five lashes each.<sup>24</sup> When California



Indians were punished with flogging, twenty-five was the number of lashes most commonly administered.<sup>25</sup> But there were occasions when flogging was more severe. In 1795 a party of Christian Indians from Mission San Francisco crossed the bay and went into the wilderness in search of Christian runaways. They encountered a party of hostile Indians. Most of the Christians fled. Seven of them, unarmed and unable to defend themselves, were murdered. The Spanish leather-jackets tracked down the guilty Indians and brought them in to Monterey for trial and punishment. The principal offender, a Christian runaway, was given seventy-five lashes on three different occasions and a year of imprisonment in irons. Another, a pagan, was given fifty lashes on two different occasions and eight months imprisonment in irons. The others were all given the usual twenty-five lashes and short terms of imprisonment.<sup>26</sup> In 1796 a small group of Christian Indians (the record does not reveal how many) were punished for having murdered Marcos, a Christian Indian gardener. Because of their primitive character, the Auditor de Guerra in Mexico City limited their punishment to four years imprisonment and fifty lashes each, except for the apparent leader of the gang, Bonifacio, who received a hundred lashes.<sup>27</sup> Judging from the records, however, severe flogging like this was rare. In 1805, for example, an Indian had the misfortune to throw a stone at one of the missionaries. For this offense Governor José Joaquín de Arrillaga punished him rigorously. The poor fellow was given twenty-five lashes a day for nine days in succession. Then, for nine Sundays in succession, he was given thirty-five to forty lashes. Governor Arrillaga, generally a mild and patient man, ended his letter to the presidio commander with the words, "and I caution you that in this punishment there is to be no indulgence whatsoever."<sup>28</sup> To the Spanish mind, contempt of authority was not to be tolerated. Obviously, occurrences of this kind were a rarity.

In all this business of flogging, the foreign policy of the Spanish empire remained the same. Nothing was to be done to provoke the Indians to hostility or insurrection. There is record of a presidio commander being admonished by his military superiors for having flogged Indians too severely. In 1786 a small insurrection occurred at Mission San Gabriel. Joseph Zúñiga, the presidio commander, had a number of Indians whipped for the role they had played in the revolt, and in con-

sequence he was reprimanded by Pedro Fages, the governor.<sup>29</sup> There is record, too, of a corporal being instructed to punish neophytes only on the orders of the missionaries and under no other circumstances.<sup>30</sup> Finally, there is record of missionaries being corrected by the governor for undue severity in the punishment of Indians. Legally, the missionaries stood in their relationship with the Indians as parents to children. All the temporalities of the missions were under the care of the missionaries in this sense, their distribution, sale, exchange, etc. All was done in the name of the Indians by the missionaries as their legal guardians.<sup>31</sup> In this sense it was regarded as permissible for missionaries to punish delinquent Indians—but only as parents would normally punish their children.<sup>32</sup> “The management, control, punishment, and education of baptized Indians pertain exclusively to the missionary Fathers.” This was a decree of the Council of War and Royal Treasury given on May 6, 1773.<sup>33</sup> The norms generally employed by the missionaries for the punishment of Indians are best expressed by Father Fermín Francisco de Lasuén:

On the contrary, no matter how improbable or controversial it may seem, the following are the principles we follow:

The first principle is patience, and the second is patience, and the third is patience, and so are all the others. There should be no punishment unless it is necessary. Despite the fact that these men have the characteristics mentioned, they are poor miserable creatures who deserve better treatment. For this reason, preference should be given to methods that are gentle and mild.

Before recourse is had to severity (it should be kept to the minimum; just as little as possible), first exhaust every effort that is mild, as would a father of a family who is affectionate and considerate towards his children. Use punishment as an effective method of correcting, never as an instrument to harass the offender. A mitigation never arises from the fact that the punishment has been reduced, but from the fact that the guilt cannot be imputed.

It is on these maxims and principles that our method of dealing with the Indians is based. It is the inspiration for the rule that no matter how grave or enormous the offense, they are never to be given even one stroke more than twenty-one, and the instruments used should never bring blood, or cause any notable bruise.<sup>34</sup>

Lasuén does not claim that the treatment given the Indians was always adjusted to these maxims. Later on in the same document he freely ad-

mits that there were missionaries who sometimes exceeded the limits imposed by justice and charity in the punishments they meted out to the Indians. "So, I do not deny," he says, "that there ever was or ever will be an instance of harshness or even some threat of cruelty."<sup>35</sup> The records reveal at least three instances in which California governors objected to harsh punishment of delinquent Indians. In one case Pedro Fages heard from Indians that the priest at their mission was flogging them with chains for trivial faults. Not believing it, Fages investigated the matter and discovered, to his sorrow, that the accusation was true. He begged the priest in the name of the King, of the laws of Spain, and of humanity to desist from such extreme forms of punishment.<sup>36</sup> In a second case Borica asked Father Mariano Apolinario not to prescribe punishments of fifty lashes for the Indians. Paternal authority, he said, extended only to twenty-five. Grave crimes requiring greater punishment should be handled by the state.<sup>37</sup> In a letter to Borica, Manuel Rodríguez, an ensign at the presidio of San Diego, accused Father Juan Mariner of imposing on Indian delinquents punishments of from twenty-five to fifty lashes.<sup>38</sup> It is evident from these three instances that the punishment of the Indians at the various missions was not always uniform. The same fact is evident from other sources. Just as the degree of discipline varies from classroom to classroom in the same school, some instructors being stricter, others more lenient, so also was it in the California missions. Some missionaries were more loving, more charitable, more popular with the Indians. Others, less gifted in qualities of leadership, discipline, and personality, were less fortunate. Take, for example, the case of Father José Panella at Mission San Diego. The Indians complained that they experienced at his hands a harshness that was quite at variance with the mildness of the other Fathers who had ruled them. Upon investigating the matter, Lasuén discovered that there was but little foundation for the objections that had arisen. Correspondence on the question suggests that it was largely a matter of personality.<sup>39</sup>

Although the missionaries stood in their relationship with the Indians as legal guardians to minors, their methods of punishment suggest a different concept. The priests at Mission San Francisco wrote to Lasuén that "in an average school a person would receive more punishment for not knowing his lesson than he would receive here for living in concubinage."<sup>40</sup> This statement suggests a master-student relationship. So

does Lasuén's limitations of the number of lashes a missionary could give an Indian, namely, twenty-one. It must be remembered that in the eighteenth century children were flogged in Spanish schools, just as they were elsewhere in Europe. This drastic punishment for students was formally abolished in Spain on August 25, 1834. The law, in forbidding flogging, adds, "and any other form of punishment that can injure the members of the body," a phrase which suggests that punishment must sometimes have been severe in the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Since the missionaries were teaching the Indians the Christian way of life, western civilization, building, farming, etc., it was but natural that a teacher-pupil relationship should have obtained between them. The cultural antecedents of the missionaries and the customs that prevailed in the schools they had attended naturally suggested whipping as a punishment for disobedience. Finally, there was a third relationship between the missionaries and their charges. The missions formed communities separate from and semi-independent of the presidios. In every community there must be a civil magistrate with authority over the citizens. In the missions the priests enjoyed full authority over the "management, control, punishment, and education of the baptized Indians." In a word, they were the civil magistrates of their communities. It was only in the case of the serious crimes described above that the state stepped in, asserted its authority, and determined the punishment of the criminal. In these instances all the missionary could do was plead for clemency. Father Estevan Tapis, the missionary at Santa Bárbara during most of Lasuén's regime, describes his method of dealing with Indians involved in concubinage. For their first offense, he admonished them. This was paternal. For their second offense, he administered a few lashes with a whip. Depending on the number of stripes prescribed, this suggests either the father-son or the teacher-pupil relationship. A third offense was punished with the wearing of shackles.<sup>42</sup> The civil magistrate must keep order in his community.

Apparently, the missionaries had no qualms of conscience about putting an Indian in shackles for a while or giving him an eight-day term in the stocks. The Spaniards spoke of themselves as *gente de razón*, people of reason, people who led a rational life. In their minds, the European way of life was immeasurably superior to the primitive existence of the Indian—haphazard, irresponsible, brutish, benighted, and barbaric as it



was. But the lash, the shackles, and the stocks were all a part of what the soldiers and missionaries had learned at home in Spain. These crude forms of punishment were all a part of what it meant to be *gente de razón*, cultured and enlightened. Hence they became part of the western civilization with which the barbarous and uncultured Indian was "blessed." The missionaries were quite conscious that the Indians, whose culture was different from theirs, should receive punishments that were different. Lasuén says: "And now as to punishments: it is obvious that a barbarous, fierce, and ignorant country needs punishments and penalties that are different from one that is cultured and enlightened, and where the way of doing things is restrained and mild."<sup>43</sup> And yet the padres clung tenaciously to the punishments they had known at home—modified, of course, and greatly reduced, but otherwise unchanged. Just as the attorney for the Royal Audiencia in Mexico commuted the murderer Silverio's punishment from hanging to eight years of hard labor in irons, and just as the governors and presidio commanders of California tended to keep the number of lashes down to twenty-five except for the more serious types of crime, so the Franciscans tried to limit the number of their lashes to a maximum of twenty-one, avoided anything that might draw blood or cause a bruise, put reluctant neophytes in shackles and stocks only for short periods of time, and not infrequently pardoned the bewildered delinquent and left him with no punishment at all.<sup>44</sup> On the one hand, these methods of punishing recalcitrant Indians had been common throughout New Spain for over two hundred years. And the Franciscans of Spanish California, in employing these methods, were following a precedent sanctioned by long established custom and the example of thousands of missionaries. On the other hand, it was unfortunate that Serra, Lasuén, and their followers persisted in the very forms of punishment which the leaders of the Enlightenment were decrying and which the nations of Europe, including Spain, were ultimately to abandon. Distant thousands of leagues from the libraries, salons, and cultured centers of Europe, uninfluenced by the more advanced writers of the age, the padres trod blindly and unthinkingly in the footsteps of the past. What they needed most was not a conference on charity. It was a lecture on criminology.

For a clear interpretation of the Indian policy under Lasuén, all this is necessary: an understanding of the peaceful policy of the Spanish

empire with respect to the California Indians; of the painful efforts of the Spanish government, in the interests of justice and charity, to adjust to the frail shoulders of the Indians the burden of punishment they must bear for crimes committed; and of the crude, fumbling methods the missionaries employed to discipline delinquent aborigines in the mission community.

Lasuén's Indian policy came under attack by the government on two occasions: first, in the case of the flight of about two hundred Indians from Mission San Francisco in 1796; secondly, in the case of Antonio de la Concepción, the demented missionary who, after a hectic six months at Mission San Miguel, in 1797, returned to Mexico City and wrote the Viceroy a wild letter of complaint in which he criticized the methods of education and discipline then prevailing at the California missions.

In the late summer of 1796 word reached Governor Borica that about two hundred neophytes had fled from Mission San Francisco. Much alarmed, the governor ordered a complete investigation of the matter.<sup>45</sup> Runaway neophytes, who fled from the missions and returned to their homes in the wilderness, had been a problem for both Church and state in California ever since the later years of Serra's regime. The reasons why some Indians left the care of the padres, though difficult to analyze and assess, are not far to seek. The Indians returned to their former mode of life in the forest, said Lasuén, for two reasons: first, it was free; secondly, it was lazy. And he added, Who can blame them?<sup>46</sup> Lasuén was right. The call of the wild was a compelling force that ran deep and strong in the Indian heart. It kept alive a persistent yearning for the forest and for freedom. The missionaries were generous in giving permission to the neophytes to return to their homes in the hills from time to time and visit their parents and relatives. If there were an unqualified prohibition against visiting their pagan relatives in the mountains, said Lasuén, there would be danger of a riot.<sup>47</sup> But this was not the point. The crux of the question went deeper than this. The truth was that anyone who embraces a civilized life must, of necessity, relinquish some measure of the freedom he knew in the uncivilized world whence he came. This was the point, a subtle point, impossible to explain to the Indians. But besides their longing for freedom there was a tenacious hankering after the easy, irresponsible life of laziness

they had known in their villages at home. The Indians were unaccustomed to consistent work, day after day, with only an occasional day off. They had been brought up to work only when work was unavoidable. The idea of working every day in order to store up goods for the future was completely foreign to their mentality. In addition to this, the punishments they sometimes received from the missionaries were an abundant source of disappointment and discontent. The lash, the shackles, and the stocks easily disillusioned Indians in the blessings of the new European way of life. Finally, the restrictions of Christian morality were not easily endured. "Those at this mission," wrote Fathers González and Carranza of the Indians at Mission Santa Cruz, "cannot entirely gratify their lust because of the vigilance of the missionaries. Hence they run away in order to give full sway to their carnal desires."<sup>48</sup> Not a few of the California Indians who tried Christianity found themselves wanting. But the reasons why the Indians tended to drift back to the forest are not easily analyzed or explained. The transition from a primitive to a civilized way of life was fraught with difficulties that were mysterious and elusive. Lasuén pointed out that even though Indians were well fed and well taken care of, they still had a tendency to run away. Some preferred the mountains and freedom even though they suffered there from hunger and want of care. Lasuén says he saw Indians run away even though they were on the sick list, were excused from attending Sunday Mass, and were receiving the best food in the mission, specially prepared for them in their illness.<sup>49</sup> Cheerfully and frankly, Lasuén writes: "The majority of our neophytes have not yet acquired much love for our way of life; and they see and meet their pagan relatives in the forest, fat and robust and enjoying complete liberty."<sup>50</sup> Notwithstanding the great change in their lives and the problems and difficulties they encountered, the vast majority of the neophytes elected to remain at the missions. It has been estimated that about one in ten attempted flight and that one in twenty-four succeeded in making his return to the wilderness permanent.<sup>51</sup>

But two hundred Indians in flight constituted much more than 10 percent of the more or less 872 residents at Mission San Francisco.<sup>52</sup> Hence Governor Borica was concerned. After all, the Spanish government did not want anything to happen that would provoke prejudice, hostility, or insurrection among the natives of the coast. Besides, Borica

had visions of civilizing and christianizing all the Indians from San Francisco to San Diego and then of using their influence to reopen the route across the Colorado from California to New Mexico. To attain this purpose, peace with the pagan Indians was imperative.<sup>53</sup> For these reasons Governor Borica was disturbed about conditions at Mission San Francisco. But he had been concerned about that mission for quite some time.

The two missionaries at San Francisco were Father Antonio Dantí and Father Martín de Landaeta. The former had been assigned there since October of 1790, the latter since August of 1791.<sup>54</sup> In December of 1794 Governor Borica forbade the soldiers of the military guard at Mission San Francisco to accompany the missionaries on journeys across the bay and into the wilderness to search for runaway Christian Indians. In Spanish California pagan Indians were free to visit the missions, presidios, and towns and return to the mountains whenever they chose. They were free to come and go as they pleased. But once an Indian took instructions, presented himself for baptism, became a member of the Church and a subject of the king, he was no longer free to come and go as he wished. Henceforth he was expected to remain at the mission to which he was attached. Occasional visits to his former village were permitted but he was expected to return. If he ran away he was looked upon as an apostate from the faith and hence was to be brought back. The state, staunch defender of the faith, took upon itself the obligation of rounding up the sheep that strayed from the fold. At first soldiers used to accompany the missionaries into the wilderness to bring back the runaways. But when Borica forbade this procedure at Mission San Francisco for fear of possible conflict between the soldiers and the pagan Indians, the missionaries conceived the idea of sending small parties of Christian Indians to induce the runaways to return.

Unfortunately, this was a policy that led to disaster at Mission San Francisco. A group of Christian Indians who had gone across the bay to visit their relatives had stayed longer than their permission allowed. Father Antonio Dantí then sent two Indian *alcaldes* and some companions after them, telling the *alcaldes* to look only in their own villages and not to enter any unknown territory. The *alcaldes* and their followers went beyond the permission given them, entered an unknown village, and were set upon by hostile pagans. Of the Christians, seven were



killed. The rest fled.<sup>55</sup> Dantí attempted to hush up the tragedy but word got around, and Borica himself paid a visit to both the mission and the presidio to look into matters and get the facts.<sup>56</sup> In July, 1795, Borica wrote to Father Martín de Landaeta that, although he loved the missionaries, he had the obligation of maintaining the province of California in peace and tranquility, and therefore he forbade the friars at Mission San Francisco to send any more Indians across the bay for any pretext whatsoever.<sup>57</sup> In November of the same year he wrote a letter to Father Antonio Dantí, warning him of the importance of treating the Indians with love, feeding them well, and not demanding more work of them than they were capable of giving.<sup>58</sup> This is the first inkling we have that anything was amiss between the missionaries and the Indians at Mission San Francisco. In another letter to Dantí in February of 1796 Borica declared that he was not angry with the missionary himself but only with his disposition, which was as explosive as gunpowder.<sup>59</sup> In June Lasuén visited Mission San Francisco, removed Father Dantí, who was suffering from poor health and was threatened with the complete loss of his sight, and put a young priest, José María Fernández in his place.<sup>60</sup>

Actually, in July of 1796, after the departure of Father Antonio Dantí, there were three priests in residence at Mission San Francisco: Father Martín de Landaeta, who had been there since 1791, Father José María Fernández, who had just been assigned there, and Father Diego García, whose name appears in the mission registers from April of 1796 to May of 1797 and who, it would appear, was a supernumerary.<sup>61</sup>

In August, 1796, Borica wrote a highly significant letter to Lieutenant Colonel Pedro de Alberni, ranking officer at the presidio of San Francisco. Borica recommends that the soldiers in the mission military guard and at the presidio should not co-operate in the punishment of any Indian unless requested to do so by *both* the missionaries, that is to say, by both Landaeta and Fernández. This suggests that there was disagreement between the two missionaries and that one of them had a tendency to punish the Indians too severely. Secondly, Borica speaks of all that the sad and miserable Indians of this mission had suffered, of the remedies he had repeatedly suggested, and of the failure of the missionaries to carry these remedies into effect with the energy demanded by the situation. Thirdly, Borica suggests that Alberni conduct a military

investigation into the work the Indians were required to do at Mission San Francisco and the punishments that were imposed upon them.<sup>62</sup> On September 6, 1796, Borica formally ordered Alberni to conduct the investigation and on September 12 the great event took place.<sup>63</sup>

Four witnesses gave sworn depositions at the judicial proceedings: Ensign Raymundo Carrillo, Sergeant Pedro Amador, Corporal Alexo Miranda, and Diego Olbeza, who had been *mayordomo* at the mission ever since its foundation. The testimonies of all four witnesses agree. According to them, the reasons why the two hundred Indians had left Mission San Francisco were three and were known among the soldiers as the three *muchos*: too much work, too much punishment, and too much hunger. The Indians were punished for insufficient reasons, e.g., absenting themselves from the mission for six or eight days to search in the forest for seeds they were accustomed to eat or to look for shellfish along the beach. They were punished most especially for coming to the presidio to carry water and wood for the soldiers, a service for which they were customarily rewarded with food. The Indians, after becoming Christians, were unable to get permission from the missionaries to return to the villages from which they had come and visit their parents and relatives. Hence they ran away. The punishments for flight were those customarily in use at the missions—imprisonment, the stocks, the shackles, and the whip. Furthermore, food at the mission was insufficient and improperly prepared. Dry rations of barley, beans, and wheat were distributed in inadequate quantities and the Indians were not given time enough to prepare this food in their own way and eat it. Hence they suffered from hunger. The treatment of the Indians at Mission San Francisco was different under Fathers Antonio Dantí and Martín de Landaeta from what it had been before under the other missionaries and from what it was in the other missions. In the other missions the Indians got three hot meals a day. Here they did not. The new priest, Father José María Fernández full of kindness, gentleness, and affability, treated the Indians well. They liked him and responded favorably to him. The Indians all said that if Father Martín de Landaeta left, as Father Antonio Dantí had, and if another padre like Father José María Fernández came, the Christian Indians who had fled would return and would bring pagans with them. Diego Olbeza, the *mayordomo* at the mission, testified that, three months before, he had told all this to Father Lasuén in

the sacristy of the mission. Father Lasuén had answered him that all would be set right and that no one would be dissatisfied. He had asked if Father Diego García could take the place of Father Martín de Landaeta but Lasuén had not given a direct answer. Thus ran the version of the three soldiers and the *mayordomo*.

On September 15, 1796, Borica wrote a respectful and diplomatic letter to Lasuén. He begged the *presidente* to alleviate the wretched condition of the Indians at Mission San Francisco, to take firm, even rigorous, measures to correct the abuses prevalent there, to see that the Indians were not worked too hard or punished too much and that they got three hot meals a day. "It is a problem," confessed the governor, "that deprives me of sleep at night and has me talking to myself during the day."<sup>64</sup> Lasuén responded at once. He went immediately to Mission San Francisco where he investigated the situation thoroughly, corrected the missionaries, and restored order.

From Mission San Francisco Lasuén wrote two letters, one to José Argüello, the commander of the presidio of San Francisco, and one to Diego de Borica, the governor of California. These two missives throw abundant light on the situation at Mission San Francisco.

His letter to Argüello is short but significant. He felt it was right that Argüello should know about the disagreement that had taken place between the two missionaries at Mission San Francisco but did not think that disputes of this kind between religious in anger should be described in detail nor that a signed statement should be issued to make the altercation a matter of public record. With respect to scandal among the clergy or elsewhere, Lasuén was conscientiously closemouthed. He concluded his letter with these words:

These are what the Lord Governor wishes: that the work of the Indians be made light; that there be more moderation in punishing them; and that they be given their rations cooked. All this has been put into effect quietly.<sup>65</sup>

Briefly, but in a gentlemanly way, he put Argüello in his place.

With Borica, Lasuén is much more candid, more cordial, more friendly, more personal. He speaks frankly and in detail about the problems of Mission San Francisco. With respect to the punishments meted out by the missionaries, he says:

I am not trying to make saints out of the Fathers who have been in charge of this mission. They may have gone to extremes in disciplining. I have neither witnessed them, nor heard about them, nor received any reports about them.<sup>66</sup>

Although he denies that the punishments of the Indians were extreme, he agrees that the work they were required to do was excessive and that the food was insufficient. His words are plain:

What is said about the work cannot be denied. It is evidenced by the big projects accomplished in a short time, for much of it was forced labor. I reprimanded them and placed them under obligation to be more forbearing.<sup>67</sup>

Apparently, Father Landaeta was a driver. It was as difficult to get him to work more slowly, said Lasuén, as it was to induce others to do enough work elsewhere. With respect to the problem of food, Lasuén hides nothing:

Beginning with the twenty-second of the current month, pozole is being served to the Indians. For this purpose they have bought two cauldrons from the paymaster's office, and efforts are being made to obtain others from Mexico.<sup>68</sup>

It is evident from these lines that the Indians had not been receiving three hot meals a day. Lasuén's advice to the padres with respect to treatment of the Indians reveals much:

I have given instructions that they [the missionaries] should try to win them [the Indians] over, and be much more kind in dealing with them, and that they should give them permission to go to their rancherías when they ask for it. And they should send them even without being asked whenever they see that they are declining in health or becoming homesick.<sup>69</sup>

Apparently, Martín de Landaeta had been imprudent in refusing Indians permission to visit their villages at home in the wilderness.

Lasuén agrees with the sworn depositions of the soldiers in the military investigation that the Indians at Mission San Francisco were overworked and underfed. He agrees, too, that the neophytes were not given the freedom they needed for excursions into the wilderness and for visits to their parents and relatives at home. But he insists that he found no evidence of extreme punishments imposed on the Indians.

With reference to the Indians, the role they played in this crisis at



Mission San Francisco deserves a moment's consideration. Anthropologists stress the point that primitive people, when questioned, have a tendency to give their interrogator the information they think he wants to hear. It is interesting to observe how this principle applies to the case in question. The soldiers, who probably received most of their information from the Indians, and who fell easy victims to bias against the missionaries, were but too ready to believe the story of the three *muchos*. The Indians, it would appear, eagerly confirmed the soldiers' worst suspicions. As it happened, two of the *muchos* were certainly true. With respect to the third, namely, the accusation that punishment was extreme, it must be remembered that, to an Indian, who most probably had never been punished by his parents, any punishment at all was too much. This same principle regarding primitive mentality applies to the padres as well as to the soldiers. Some Indians returned from the wilderness while Lasuén was still at Mission San Francisco and gave an entirely different account of the reasons why two hundred neophytes had sought refuge across the bay. "They report," said Lasuén, "that they did not run away, and the others are not staying away because of fear of punishment or aversion for the work; rather, they fled through fear of a contagious and fatal disease that broke out here."<sup>70</sup> It is perfectly true that for the last two or three years mortality among the Indians at Mission San Francisco had been extraordinarily high.<sup>71</sup> In 1800 José Argüello spoke of the tuberculosis, venereal disease, and dysentery that afflicted the mission communities. It was mostly children and the very young who succumbed.<sup>72</sup> There can be no doubt, then, that many Indians fled because of fear of epidemics. But, knowing the mind of the Indians as we do, it seems highly probable that the neophytes were telling the padres what they thought the padres wanted to hear and that many had fled from the mission because of excessive work, insufficient food, and other reasons that had but little to do with epidemics.

In time the Christian Indians who had fled from the mission began to return. In July of 1797 Borica wrote to José Argüello that Pedro Amador, in an expedition against pagan Indians who were threatening Mission San José, returned eighty-three Christian Indians to Mission San Francisco.<sup>73</sup> A few days later seventy-nine Christian Indians presented themselves voluntarily at the mission, where their return was much like that of the prodigal son.<sup>74</sup> Shortly before the return of this second

group Governor Borica launched another military investigation. Twenty-three of the Indians who had come back to the mission were assembled and questioned by José Argüello and three other soldiers. Asked why they had fled from the mission, they responded as follows: Two said they had no reason. One said he had gone to visit his mother. Another complained he had had to work too much. Two had gone along with other escapees more intent on leaving. Seven fled because members of their family died. Nine complained they had left because of hunger. Ten claimed they had left because they had been punished with the stocks or with lashes. Six said they had been whipped or beaten with a stick by Father Antonio Dantí. No other priest was mentioned.<sup>75</sup> What is to be thought of this testimony? Obviously, it is not to be taken at face value. Work, for example, is mentioned only once, and yet it probably played a larger role in the flight of the Indians than the answers to this questionnaire would suggest. Punishment is mentioned ten times and yet Lasuén declared plainly and bluntly that he had neither witnessed nor heard of any excessive punishment in either of his two visits to the mission. What is said of hunger and fear of epidemics is probably true. What of the six accusations levelled at Father Antonio Dantí? Because of what Borica said about Father Dantí's fiery temperament, one is tempted to see more than just a grain of truth in the frequent mention of his name. And yet this is what Lasuén says, in a confidential letter to his superior in Mexico City, about the situation at Mission San Francisco:

At the beginning of last month I returned from San Francisco, a place to which I was obliged to go because of the gravest and most trying problem I ever faced in all my life. The Reverend Father Fray Diego García and Fray José María Fernández had plotted with fanatical zeal to expel Fray Landaeta from that mission. The Indians joined in the conspiracy, and the officers of the presidio, Alberni and Argüello, joined it or tended that way. For this purpose they collected accounts of different unbecoming incidents that took place at different times in the past, giving them the appearance of cruel, enormous, and monstrous crimes, and these they attributed to Fathers Dantí and Landaeta.<sup>76</sup>

After having made two visitations to Mission San Francisco, Lasuén remained convinced that Dantí and Landaeta were innocent of anything more than "unbecoming incidents" that others had tried to exaggerate into crimes. One infers, then, that Dantí and Landaeta had been

guilty of requiring excessive labor of the Indians, of not giving them sufficient food, and of refusing them permission to visit their parents and relatives at home, but not of imposing extreme punishments on them.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, Lasuén felt that both friars had been gravely wronged by Diego García, José María Fernández, the presidio personnel, and the Indians.

Father Diego García was a difficult character. In 1793, in a confidential letter to his superior in Mexico City, Lasuén wrote of him:

Father Sánchez accepts in a religious spirit his assignment to Soledad, but he dislikes very much having to associate with Father García. I am not surprised at this, because the odd escapades of this Andalusian, which have become public only too frequently, put everyone on his guard.<sup>78</sup>

Borica's description of García is no more flattering. According to the governor, García, when assigned to Mission Soledad, had failed to plant crops one year and had nothing to offer but frivolous pretexts by way of excuse. And when he was assigned to participate in the founding of Mission San José, he had evaded obedience and had given a thousand flimsy and fantastic reasons to justify his conduct.<sup>79</sup> Difficult, irresponsible, disobedient, and troublesome: this was the man who had conspired against Dantí and Landaeta at Mission San Francisco. In a confidential letter to Nogueyra, his superior, Lasuén said of García:

I think it very important that for the present a strict and rigorous silence be observed both there and here in regard to this matter until an occasion arises to withdraw Father Diego from the country, without making any reference to this affair. May God forgive him and grant him every happiness.<sup>80</sup>

It was García, then, who had been the villain in the "affair" at Mission San Francisco.

Father José María Fernández was an entirely different kind of man. Kindhearted, gentle, and affable, he was popular with the Indians. He was capable of speaking his mind when the occasion called for it, however, differed completely with Landaeta on the proper methods of dealing with Indians, and had at least one public disagreement with him on the subject.<sup>81</sup> His correspondence with Governor Borica betrays an extremely emotional temperament.<sup>82</sup> Actually, Fernández was not a well man. In 1797 Lasuén sent him back to the College of San Fernando

because, as he explained to Borica, "ever since he came to this province a year ago he has been suffering from attacks that render him entirely unfit for this ministry."<sup>83</sup> In July of 1798 Borica mentioned, in a letter to the Viceroy, that José María Fernández, whom he described as a good religious, full of love and kindness for the Indians, had had to leave the province the year before and return to the College of San Fernando "with his mind somewhat confused."<sup>84</sup> Judging from what evidence is available, Fernández was probably an epileptic.

Before the crisis at Mission San Francisco came to an end, the missionaries made one more mistake. In June, 1797, Father José de la Cruz Espí, without getting permission from the presidio commander, sent thirty Christian Indians to the beach in search of runaways. This was before Amador's group of eighty-three and the second group of seventy-nine voluntary returnees had put in their appearance. Fortunately, Espí's party returned without harm. Rebuked by the governor for his obvious disobedience, Father José wrote a letter of apology and promised to mend his ways.<sup>85</sup> But the governor was not satisfied with a promise. On July 16 José Argüello, commander of the presidio of San Francisco, appeared at Mass at the mission of the same name. In his company were Ramón Saavedra, a naval officer, Alberto de Córdoba, an army engineer, Raymundo Carrillo, an ensign from the presidio, two corporals from the Volunteers of Cataluña, and two leather-jackets. After Mass was over, Argüello assembled all the Indians of the mission and made a speech. In the presence of Fathers Martín de Landaeta, José de la Cruz Espí, José María Fernández, the visiting military and naval officers, and the soldiers from the presidio, he explained to the Indians the new orders of the governor. On no account, he said, were the Indians of the mission to cross the bay to the other shore. Even if the Fathers of the mission should send them across the bay, they were not to go. Even if it was to bring back fugitives from the mission, they were not to go. No matter what the reason was, they were not to go. Punishment for disobedience, he concluded, would be rigorous. Having finished his speech, Argüello asked the Indians if they had understood. All responded in the affirmative. When the show was all over, Landaeta asked a question. What, he asked, should the missionaries tell the Indians when they requested permission to cross the bay and visit their parents? Nonplussed, Argüello had no answer. He said he would



ask the governor.<sup>86</sup> In August he wrote to Father Espí that, by order of the governor, Christian Indians who wanted to visit their parents or relatives across the bay should travel around the bay by land. A soldier would accompany them to Mission San José, whence they could proceed to their villages.<sup>87</sup>

It was shortly after this episode that the first two groups of runaway Indians returned. A year later, in early May of 1798, forty-eight more runaways put in a belated appearance. None of those who returned voluntarily were punished.<sup>88</sup> With most of the two hundred prodigals safe at home, peace descended on Mission San Francisco. A decree from the viceroy forbidding the missionaries to send Christian Indians after runaways without first getting permission from the governor confirmed the atmosphere of peace.

#### NOTES

1. Bucareli to Fages, Mexico, March 18, 1772, Archive of California, Volume I, Bancroft Library. This archive will hereinafter be cited as CA. Bucareli to Fages, Mexico, May 26, 1773, CA 1.

2. Instrucción reservada que dejó el brigadier Don Phelipe de Neve a su sucesor en el gobierno de Californias Don Pedro Fages, Paraje del Saucillo a la salida de Santa Catarina, September 7, 1782, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Provincias Internas 120. This archive will be cited hereinafter as AGN.

3. Bucareli to Fages, Mexico, May 26, 1773, CA 1.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Pedro Fages to José Francisco de Ortega, Instrucción, Santa Barbara, October 1, 1782, CA 2. Pedro Fages, Ordenes graves que debe observar el Sargento encargado de la escolta de la nueva misión de la Purísima Concepción, Mission San Gabriel, April 7, 1788, CA 4.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Diego de Borica to the commander of the presidio of Monterey, Monterey, March 2, 1796, CA. 55. Instrucción para guardián militar, Monterey, December 11, 1794, CA 7.

8. Borica to the commanders of the presidios, Monterey, April 11, 1796, CA 23.

9. Causa criminal contra el indio Silverio de la misión de San Luis por haver cometido el delito de homicidio contra su mujer formada por el cabo de la Monterey, Año de 1796, AGN, Californias 65. Borica to the viceroy, Monterey, November 30, 1798, CA 24. Azanza to the governor, Mexico, August 21, 1798, CA 10. Azanza to Borica, Mexico, March 28, 1799, CA 10.

10. Fr. Hilario Torrent to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, Mis-

sion San Diego, September 27, 1788, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, Vol. 67. Felipe de Neve, San Gabriel, March 20, 1782, Instrucciones sobre la defensa de los criminales, CA 2.

11. Grájera to Borica, San Diego, April 1, 1797, CA 9. Grájera to Borica, San Diego, June 20, 1797, CA 9. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, April 16, 1798, AGN, Californias 65.

12. Proceso contra los neófitos de la Misión de San Antonio llamados Primo, Ventura, y Eulalia, acusados de haver muerto alebosamente a Juan Californio, marido de dicha Eulalia la noche del 15 de diciembre de 1800 formado por el Alférez de cavallería Don Raymundo Carrillo, AGN, Provincias Internas 6.

13. Lasuén to Nogueyra, San Carlos, November 28, 1795, Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M. (trans. and ed.), *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén*, I, 363. Cited hereinafter as *Lasuén's Writings*.

14. Zúñiga to Fages, San Diego, February 12, 1790, CA 5. Fages to Roméu, Monterey, May 31, 1791, CA 6.

15. The Governor of California to Lieutenant González, Monterey, September 9, 1785, CA 23.

16. Fages to the commander of the presidio of Monterey, Mission San Gabriel, January 11, 1787, CA 4.

17. Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola to Pedro Fages, Arispe, December 12, 1787, Santa Barbara Mission Archives. Cited hereinafter as SBMA. Fages to Lasuén, Monterey, June 15, 1788, SBMA.

18. Borica, Monterey, January 16, 1799, CA 16.

19. Joaquín Escriche y Martín, *Diccionario razonado de legislación y jurisprudencia*, I, 534.

20. Goycochea to Fages, Santa Barbara, October 22, 1788, CA 4.

21. Arrillaga to the commander of the presidio of San Francisco, Monterey, March 20, 1794, CA 22.

22. Borica to Sánchez, Monterey, February 11, 1795, CA 24.

23. Fages to the Commander General of the Internal Provinces, San Diego, March 17, 1786, CA 22.

24. Borica to the commander of the presidio of San Francisco, Monterey, February 25, 1795, CA 24.

25. S. F. Cook, *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*, I, 116-121.

26. Castigos que han de sufrir los indios cristianos y gentiles, Diego de Borica, Monterey, August 26, 1797, AGN, Californias 65, CA 9.

27. The governor to the commander at Santa Barbara, Monterey, November 18, 1796, CA 23.

28. Arrillaga to Rodríguez, Loreto, February 16, 1805, CA 26.

29. Ugarte y Loyola to Fages, Chihuahua, August 8, 1786, CA 3.

30. Lasuén to José Gasol, Santa Clara, June 12, 1802, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 274.

31. Pedro Fages, Informe General Sobre Misiones, 1787, no place, no date, CA 52.
32. Diego Noboa to Lasuén, Santa Clara Mission, May 2, 1786, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 110. Judicial Proceedings Against Fr. Tomás de la Peña, signed by Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Tomás de la Peña, Pedro Cambón, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 117.
33. Refutation of Charges, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 216.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
36. Fages to P. Matías, Monterey, June 11, 1785, CA 23. This was Fr. Matías Noriega at Mission San Carlos. Confer *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 142, for the list of missionaries and their assignments in 1785.
37. Borica to P. Mariano Apolinario, Monterey, September 26, 1796, CA 24.
38. Rodríguez to the governor, San Diego, December 19, 1798, CA 10.
39. Borica to Lasuén, Monterey, September 28, 1798, CA 24. Panella to Borica, Mission San Diego, November 21, 1798, Archive of the Archbishop of San Francisco. Lasuén to Borica, San Carlos Mission, September 30, 1798, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 94.
40. Lasuén, Refutation of Charges, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 218.
41. Joaquín Escriche y Martín, *Diccionario razonado de legislación y jurisprudencia*, I, 535.
42. Estevan Tapis to Lasuén, Santa Barbara Mission, October 30, 1800, AGN, Provincias Internas 216.
43. Lasuén, Refutation of Charges, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 220.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
45. Borica to Alberni, Monterey, September 6, 1796, AGN, Californias 65. Pérez Fernández to Borica, San Francisco, September 13, 1795, CA 7.
46. Lasuén, Refutation of Charges, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 205.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
48. González and Carranza to Borica, Mission Santa Cruz, no date, 1798, Archive of the Archbishop of San Francisco.
49. Lasuén, Refutation of Charges, Mission San Carlos, June 19, 1801, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 203.
50. Lasuén to Nogueyra, San Carlos Mission, January 21, 1797, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 6.
51. S. F. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
52. General State of the Missions of New California at the End of December, 1795, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 412.
53. Borica to Marcelino Ciprés, Monterey, September 28, 1796, SBMA. Sal to Borica, San Francisco, January 31, 1796, CA 8.

54. San Francisco, Libros de Misión, pp. 41, 42, Bancroft Library.
55. José Pérez Fernández to Borica, San Francisco, May 3, 1795, AGN, Californias 65. Antonio Dantí to Borica, Mission San Francisco, May 3, 1795, AGN, Californias 65. Pérez Fernández to Borica, San Francisco, May 29, 1795, CA 7. In this last letter Pérez Fernández raises the number of Indians killed to fourteen. But the court trial held in August, 1797, mentions that the four Christian and six pagan Indians were punished for having murdered seven Christians. Confer note 26.
56. Pérez Fernández to Borica, San Francisco, May 29, 1795, CA 7. Borica to Branciforte, San Francisco, May 30, 1795, AGN, Californias 65.
57. Borica to Martín de Landaeta, Monterey, July 6, 1795, CA 24.
58. Borica to Dantí, Monterey, November 3, 1795, CA 24.
59. Borica to Dantí, Monterey, February 20, 1796, CA 24.
60. Argüello to Borica, San Francisco, June 30, 1796, CA 8. Lasuén to Borica, Mission San Carlos, July 20, 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 385. Lasuén to Nogueyra, Mission San Francisco, June 30, 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 383-385. Dantí's signature does not appear in the books of Mission San Francisco after July 10, 1796. Confer San Francisco, Libros de Misión, p. 41, Bancroft Library.
61. San Francisco, Libros de Misión, pp. 40 and 61, Bancroft Library.
62. Borica to Alberni, Monterey, August 11, 1796, CA 16.
63. Borica to Alberni, Monterey, September 6, 1796, AGN, Californias 65. En el Presidio de San Francisco a los doce días del mes de septiembre de mil setecientos noventa y seis, yo Don Pedro de Alberni, Teniente Coronel de los Reales Exercitos . . . Pedro de Alberni, José González, AGN, Californias 65.
64. Borica to Lasuén, Monterey, September 15, 1796, CA 24.
65. Lasuén to Argüello, Mission San Francisco, September 22, 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 400-401.
66. Lasuén to Borica, Mission San Francisco, September 26, 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 401-403.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. General State of the Missions of New California for 1794 through 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, II, 410-414.
72. José Argüello, Estado de la jurisdicción, San Francisco, December 31, 1800, CA 16.
73. Borica to Argüello, Monterey, July 21, 1797, CA 24. For an account of this expedition, confer Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, August 30, 1797, AGN, Californias 65.
74. Fr. José Espí and Fr. Martín de Landaeta to Argüello, Mission San Francisco, July 26, 1797, CA 9.
75. En cumplimiento de superior orden del Señor Gobernador y Comandante



Inspector Don Diego de Borica su fecha de 21 de julio de 1797 para que declaren los indios cristianos huidos de la Misión de San Francisco . . . Presidio de San Francisco, Josef Argüello, Joaquín Fico, Caludio Galindo, Josef Miranda, José González, AGN, Californias 65.

76. Lasuén to Nogueyra, Mission San Carlos, November 2, 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 404-405.

77. At first glance, there seems to be a discrepancy in the evidence here. In his letter to Borica, Lasuén had said that the missionaries at Mission San Francisco "may have gone to extremes in disciplining. I have neither witnessed them, nor heard about them, nor received any reports about them." In his letter to Nogueyra, his superior in Mexico City, he speaks of a conspiracy on the part of García and Fernández against Dantí and Landaeta in which the latter were accused of cruel, enormous and monstrous crimes. Now then, would not at least some of alleged crimes have involved extreme punishment of the Indians? If García and Fernández were in a conspiracy against Dantí and Landaeta, would they not have accused the latter of punishing the Indians too severely? What, then, is to be thought about Lasuén's statement that he had received no reports about excessive punishment of the Indians? It is true that Lasuén was sensitive and closemouthed about scandal among the clergy, and that, in a letter to the governor, he would have been tempted to reveal as little as possible about these accusations. But, on the other hand, Lasuén was too intelligent, too cautious, too circumspect, to attempt a mental reservation, or any other kind of fiction, under these circumstances when the governor could easily have verified the truth by making a visit or a simple inquiry.

78. Lasuén to Pangua, Mission San Francisco, March 30, 1793, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 278.

79. Borica to Azanza, Monterey, December 31, 1798, AGN, Provincias Internas 216, CA 24.

80. Lasuén to Nogueyra, Mission San Carlos, November 2, 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 404.

81. Lasuén to Borica, Mission San Francisco, September 26, 1796, *Lasuén's Writings*, I, 402.

82. Borica to José María Fernández, Monterey, September 15, 1796, CA 24. José María Fernández to Borica, Mission San Francisco, June 27, 1797, CA, 8. José María Fernández to Borica, Mission San Francisco, June 29, 1797, CA 8. The present writer has been unable to locate the letter written by Fernández to Borica on September 12, 1796, and mentioned by Engelhardt. Confer Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, II, 519. In any case, Fernández's complaints about the Fathers at Mission San Francisco had nothing to do with Borica's decision to investigate the situation. Borica had determined upon this as early as August 11 and actually gave the command for the investigation six days before Fernández is said to have written his first letter.

83. Lasuén to Borica, Mission San Carlos, July 8, 1797, *Lasuén's Writings*, II,

36, SBMA. Lasuén's says that for a year, ever since he arrived in the province, Fernández *padece graves accidentes que del todo lo inhabilita para este ministerio*. *Accidente* is often used in Spanish to mean loss of consciousness. Frequent and grave loss of consciousness on the part of Fernández suggests epilepsy. This would seem to be a more plausible explanation of Fernández's affliction than the blow on the head mentioned by Bancroft. Confer Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 713, note 37.

84. Borica to Branciforte, Monterey, July 1, 1798, AGN, Californias 65, CA 24.

85. Fr. José de la Cruz Espí to Borica, Mission San Francisco, June 30, 1797, CA 8.

86. Argüello to Borica, San Francisco, July 18, 1797, CA 8.

87. Argüello to José Espí, Presidio of San Francisco, August 27, 1797, CA 9.

88. Argüello to Borica, Presidio of San Francisco, May 28, 1798, CA 10.

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# Hiram Johnson, The Lincoln-Roosevelt League, and the Election of 1910

By SPENCER C. OLIN, JR.

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IN AUGUST, 1907, a group of young professional men, intent upon destroying the power of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company in California politics, organized the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League. Because of its initial organizational weaknesses, the league was unable to gain immediate control of the Republican Party in California, its first victory being a local affair, the election of a reform candidate, Clinton T. White, as mayor of Sacramento. Yet by 1908 the infant league felt strong enough to engage in a statewide struggle with the Southern Pacific. Capitalizing on growing public dissatisfaction with machine politics, the league astonished political "pros" by winning a substantial number of the delegates who would attend the Republican State Convention in May of that year.

Although its hold on the party machinery was still precarious, the league managed to send at least as many men to both houses of the 1909 Legislature as did the machine. The *California Weekly*, a periodical of progressive leanings, declared that "the anti-machine element is in definite control of the Assembly and nearly in control of the Senate. . . ."<sup>1</sup> The surprising ease with which the league was able to achieve such numerical strength in the legislature suggests that the Southern Pacific's control of state politics had begun to weaken prior to 1909. Because of poor organization and lack of a definite plan of action, however, the reform elements in the assembly and the senate were unable to take

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advantage of their political power in the legislature. The well-oiled and smooth-functioning machine easily outmaneuvered the neophytes of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League.

The railroad lobby soon realized that some law would have to be passed to quiet aroused public sentiment against the railroads. Accordingly, in the 1909 session machine legislators supported the Wright Bill, which would have left the railroads free from effective state supervision while giving the impression of government control. Reform legislators backed the Stetson Bill, which would have "put teeth" in the California Railroad Commission by giving it enough power to set absolute rates.

But the machine minority proved too crafty for the reformers. Backed by Southern Pacific attorneys, the minority presented an effective case for the unconstitutionality of any provision permitting the absolute fixing of rates. Peter Finley Dunne (not to be confused with the columnist of "Mr. Dooley" fame, Finley Peter Dunne) was brought to Sacramento to argue before the Senate Committee on Corporations that the state constitution provided only maximum rate fixing. Several antirailroad legislators were convinced by Dunne's argument, or were too confused to counter with an argument of their own. By a series of clever maneuvers the Stetson Bill was defeated and the Wright Bill passed.

Although an effective railroad regulation bill was thereby cast aside in favor of a less effective one, George Mowry has noted that the bill was "the first significant antirailroad measure that the California legislature had passed for many years."<sup>2</sup> The reformers, unsure of themselves in the face of sophisticated legal reasoning and outfoxed on the floor of the legislature, had nonetheless forced the railroad machine to pass a measure inimical to its interests. Railroads had seen the last of almost total freedom from state control in California.

The "machine was on the run," as Los Angeles reformer Meyer Lissner wrote Robert La Follette, United States Senator from Wisconsin, but it had not been entirely defeated.<sup>3</sup> An octopus is a tough creature, and the trimming of a tentacle or two was more of an annoyance than a serious injury. Although the first encounter had yielded some results, the Lincoln-Roosevelt League would remain but a potentially dangerous irritant to the Southern Pacific machine unless it could place



its own candidate in the governor's chair. With so much at stake, only a man of extraordinary merit and impeccable character could be chosen to carry the league's message to the citizens of California. A mistake at this time could bring an inglorious end to reform, for without an attractive and popular leader the movement could easily fall victim to apathy or to disruptive localism.

Francis J. Heney was a first choice of many Lincoln-Roosevelt Leaguers. Had he not achieved national prominence during his conduct of the graft prosecution in San Francisco? Would not his oratorical ability serve him well in a political contest? No member of the league would deny that Heney possessed certain positive attributes. But had not his ruthless conduct of the graft prosecution revealed explosive capacities and an injudiciousness unbecoming a candidate for public office? Was he not just a little too "radical" for the good of the movement? Would his Democratic allegiances "sit well" with Republicans in the state? Chester Rowell, editor of the *Fresno Republican* and acting president of the league, felt that Heney's nomination would mean "the immediate disruption of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. . ."<sup>4</sup> Meyer Lissner feared that there was "too much latent opposition to him. . ."<sup>5</sup> Finally, had not Heney stated in a letter to Rowell that he definitely would not be a candidate?<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps Harris Weinstock would evoke a more "respectable" image. Weinstock was the senior member of a prosperous Sacramento business firm, Weinstock, Lubin, and Company. An enthusiastic backer of the graft prosecution, he had an active career in business and a keen interest in public affairs. There was one problem with Weinstock: he absolutely refused to permit his name to be used so long as Hiram Johnson was a possibility. Weinstock, a man of great humanitarian sympathies and yet devoid of political ambition, saw in Johnson the makings of a fine governor and therefore encouraged him to run.<sup>7</sup>

Other leaguers also supported Hiram Johnson, and by early 1910 he had emerged as the most popular choice for many. Johnson, an ambitious and able San Francisco attorney who had drawn favorable public attention during his conduct of the graft prosecution in 1906 and 1907, adamantly refused to run, and with good reason. His prosperous law practice in San Francisco had enabled him to purchase a homesite in the hills overlooking the Golden Gate, the San Francisco

Bay, and the lovely countryside of Marin County. Johnson's preference for the quiet, private life of San Francisco over the hectic, public life of Sacramento received the hearty endorsement of Mrs. Johnson.<sup>8</sup>

Yet many leaguers were determined that Johnson should run for governor, considering him the only man with a chance of winning. A special committee headed by Meyer Lissner was named to work on Johnson. Rowell wrote Lissner that he "would be willing to do almost anything short of murder to compel him to [enter the race], but I fear it is hopeless."<sup>9</sup> Rowell, Lissner, Dickson, and Stimson implored Johnson's strong-willed wife to give her consent to her husband's candidacy, and were rebuffed. If her husband were to run for any public office, she stated, she would prefer that it be for the United States Senate. Eventually, however, Mrs. Johnson began to change her mind about the desirability of a state position. Mowry surmises that she was swayed by Stimson's assurance that the distance from the governorship of California to the United States Senate was not very great.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, Weinstock, assuming that Johnson's refusal was final, had permitted his name to be used. But when he learned that Mrs. Johnson had finally waived her objections to her husband's candidacy, he immediately informed the league's executive committee of his own withdrawal and unqualified support of Hiram Johnson.<sup>11</sup> His wife now tacitly ranged with a majority of the leaguers, Johnson reluctantly gave in and agreed to "sacrifice himself" to the cause. Having once committed himself, however, Johnson informed the league's leaders that he would conduct a vigorous campaign.<sup>12</sup>

Son of a tough, wily, conservative lawyer and politician, Grove Johnson, Hiram Johnson was an attractive candidate. Born in Sacramento in 1866, he had attended the University of California, but left during his junior year to marry Minnie McNeal, the daughter of a Sacramento contractor. After studying law in the family office for a brief time, he was admitted to the bar in 1888 and soon became well-known and respected in Sacramento.

While Grove Johnson had long been a chief spokesman for the railroad machine in the state legislature, Hiram had taken a different course on political and economic issues. This led to a gradual alienation from his father. The family law firm was dissolved, and in 1902 Hiram moved his practice from Sacramento to San Francisco.<sup>13</sup> There he was soon

involved in several sensational trials and was Francis J. Heney's right-hand man during the graft prosecution. Johnson's long reform background and liberal outlook were enhanced by an eight-year connection with organized labor as an attorney for the teamsters in San Francisco.<sup>14</sup> Yet he had always been careful, unlike Heney, not to exacerbate the sensibilities of the wealthier classes.

As an orator, his strong speeches in support of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League attracted much attention. Indeed, Johnson had a positive flair for generating not only public interest, but public enthusiasm. As a stirring, if not mellifluous, speaker, he was particularly effective before large crowds. Chester Rowell once referred to him as an "aggressive advocate," just the type needed for the "first fight."<sup>15</sup> A sort of western Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson invested the cause of political reform in California with a similar brand of dynamic righteousness.

The Lincoln-Roosevelt League placed a full state-ticket on the primary ballot, including candidates for the senate and assembly. Johnson's running mate for lieutenant governor was a Southern Californian, Albert J. Wallace, the president of the Anti-Saloon League of California and a devout Methodist. Wallace had extensive oil interests in Kern County, was a member of the Independent Oil Producers' Agency, and owned considerable areas of farming land in the San Joaquin Valley and in Contra Costa and Monterey counties. He was one of the first men to urge the establishment of a federal line of steamships on the Pacific Coast to be operated in competition with vessels controlled by the railroad and steamship trusts.<sup>16</sup> For its United States Senatorial candidate the league selected John D. Works, a former justice of the California Supreme Court. Upon retirement from the bench, Works had practiced law in Los Angeles, serving as president of the Good Government League there.<sup>17</sup>

Conservative newspapers and periodicals were quick to point out that the league, after having dedicated itself to direct legislation and democratic reforms, had proceeded to use machine methods in selecting its candidates.<sup>18</sup> Chester Rowell, for one, admitted the undemocratic nature of the league's operations. As he explained to Mark Sullivan, editor of *Collier's Weekly*, the theory of the league had been to organize clubs everywhere to conduct local campaigns and to elect delegates to a state convention. This state conference would then sub-

stitute an elected central organization for the provisional one. But the theory had not worked out in practice. It had been impossible to organize local clubs everywhere. The provisional organization had remained intact. A state conference for reorganization had elected Rowell president and authorized him to appoint the rest of the organization. That organization had selected the primary ticket and thereafter was accepted by the rest of the reform forces as representing them. Rowell wrote that this was "about the nearest thing to popular government the people are yet willing to accept. We have been as democratic as the people will let us be, which has been shockingly autocratic. Curiously, nobody has been shocked, except the involuntary autocrats."<sup>19</sup>

To oppose Johnson, the railroad backed state superintendent of banks, Alden Anderson. Others running for governor in the Republican primary were secretary of state Charles F. Curry, the state engineer, Nathan Ellery, and Philip Stanton, former speaker of the assembly. When Curry, Ellery, and Stanton refused to withdraw under pressure from the railroad, Johnson's chances soared.

As Chester Rowell wrote Johnson shortly before the campaign for the primaries began, the league had "the candidate, the issue, and the opportune time."<sup>20</sup> While in letters to close friends Johnson was uncharacteristically confident about his chances, and while he was very gratified about the enthusiastic response from the press to his candidacy, he also expressed his concern about public support, the amount of money available for the campaign, and the lack of publicity arrangements. In Johnson's opinion, the Lincoln-Roosevelt organization was simply not prepared to wage a statewide campaign supporting a ticket of nearly fifty candidates.<sup>21</sup>

Later on, after several blunders on the part of the league's campaign organization (such as the improper handling of news stories), the testy and decisive Johnson declared: "Of all the Damn Fool Leagues that ever existed, the LINCOLN-ROOSEVELT REPUBLICAN LEAGUE not only is the worst, but the worst that could ever be conceived. . . ."<sup>22</sup> Resolving that the only chance of success was personal control of his own campaign, Johnson set up his own organization, independent of the league's. For his manager he chose Al McCabe, a superb organizer who remained with Johnson in that capacity for years thereafter. Assisting McCabe was Harriet Odgers, who had worked in Johnson's law office.



This combination provided the necessary central direction and organization to make the Johnson campaign click.

Johnson even refused to travel with the other Lincoln-Roosevelt League candidates, explaining his decision with characteristic bluntness: "This fight is very serious as well as sentimental with me and I do not wish it cheapened by a mere scramble for office. . . ." <sup>23</sup> Rowell warned Lissner that it was best to let Johnson have his way, because it was imperative "to protect Johnson's nerves, which are, for this campaign, our most valuable asset. . . . We need not deceive ourselves," Rowell continued, "Johnson is the strength of this campaign. He is winning it, not we. Our function is to organize and finance the fight. . . ." <sup>24</sup> In order to calm the easily aroused candidate, Rowell assured Johnson that he "didn't need to be bothered with the eighty-six [other] candidates." Johnson was winning the fight, Rowell wrote reassuringly, and should not be upset when things went wrong. <sup>25</sup>

To gather material for his speeches, Johnson sent letters to various businessmen and shippers asking for confidential information regarding the unjust rate exactions of the Southern Pacific. <sup>26</sup> Early in the campaign he expressed his intention to connect his campaign in California with those of the Insurgent Republicans in the East, such as La Follette in Wisconsin, and Cummins and Dolliver in Iowa. "They are making the same fight that we are making in California," he wrote to a member of the staff of the San Francisco *Daily News*, "a fight against the interests and the system, and for true democracy. . . ." <sup>27</sup>

Touring the state in a brand-new Locomobile, with his son at the wheel, the gubernatorial candidate of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League made a unique and colorful campaign. In the larger cities, Johnson spoke to packed houses, harping on the same theme—"Kick the Southern Pacific out of politics." Ringing a cow bell to attract listeners in the smaller towns, he would excoriate the Southern Pacific to the evident delight of those in attendance. Some leaguers advised him to broaden his campaign to include other pressing issues, but Johnson had selected his main theme and would accept no other.

In late May, after an exhausting and discouraging tour of Southern California, Johnson turned his attention to the rural areas of the state. Writing to Al McCabe, his campaign manager, Johnson related that the "past week has convinced me that my sphere of action is north of the

Tehachapi, and that my every effort in this campaign must be devoted to the *farmers et al.* of the rural counties?"<sup>28</sup>

What appeal did Johnson think he would have in the rural counties? Would his major campaign slogan reach responsive ears there? Undoubtedly he was aware of the uniqueness of the agricultural pattern and social structure in California's rural areas. He also fully realized that many residents of these counties had special grievances against the Southern Pacific.

As Carey McWilliams has pointed out, California differs from other states because it skipped the frontier phase of land development—California began with land monopoly. After 1860, the federal and state governments began to sell California land to private individuals, and by 1880 most of the valuable parcels had been taken. In addition, the federal government also granted nearly 11,500,000 acres to California railroads. Millions of additional acres were sold for cash, warrants, or scrip. Altogether these grants and transfers of land amounted to nearly thirty-six million acres, well over one-third of the total area of the state.<sup>29</sup>

The immense holdings thus acquired thwarted the operation of the Homestead Law in California, because the best land had been taken off the open market before homesteaders came to settle. One of the first publicly to decry this situation was Henry George, whose famous book, *Progress and Poverty*, was published in 1879. In George's description, California was a land of plantations and estates, not of farms. Arguing that land monopoly was the greatest obstacle to settlement by small independent farmers, he pointed out that early agricultural development in the state had resulted in large-scale farming units worked by wage laborers, and not in extensive private farm tenancy.<sup>30</sup>

Important social consequences resulted from this unique agricultural pattern, for the agrarian social structure was sharply divided into four classes: absentee corporate owners, a managerial class to operate the large farms, a working class of small farm owners, and a large group of migratory farm laborers.<sup>31</sup> A report released by the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits in 1916 recognized the abuses inherent in such a social and economic system: "... We have at one end of the social scale a few rich men who as a rule do not live on their

estates, and at the other end either a body of shifting farm laborers or a farm tenantry made up largely of aliens, who take small interest in the progress of the community.”<sup>32</sup>

An important aspect of that “body of shifting farm laborers” was that they were primarily Oriental or Mexican nationals and therefore the majority could not vote. Many who were United States citizens did not vote because they had neither social status nor stake in the community.<sup>33</sup> Thus when Hiram Johnson wrote McCabe that “my every effort in this campaign must be devoted to the *farmers et al.* of the rural counties,” he was concerned with a very select group—the large farmers and ranchers of the state. To these influential men Johnson could appeal most effectively. A majority of them had an economic reason for despising the railroad machine. They transported their products on Southern Pacific lines, but few received favorable rate discriminations. While they had a legitimate reason for complaint about high rates, still they had *not* been impoverished by such arbitrary railroad policies. Rates may have been unjust and excessive, but the crucial fact was that substantial profits were made under the existing rate system. Population increase, ever-rising demand, and a superb climate insured their continuing prosperity. Where Johnson had to make his case was to demonstrate that even more profits would be made by forcing the railroad to charge equitable rates. He had to appeal to the rich farmers’ well developed entrepreneurial instincts. In his decision to stake the campaign on the railroad issue Johnson displayed both a shrewd insight into the farm economy and an understanding of an important power structure. And Johnson was also well aware that as influential molders of public opinion in the rural areas and as a source of campaign funds, these relatively few wealthy farmers and ranchers were of inestimable value.

It seems clear that the conflict in 1910 was only to a lesser extent between oppressed migratory farm laborers and aggressive agrarian capitalists. It was far more importantly a conflict between one group of capitalists (the large farmers and ranchers) and another group of capitalists (the railroad interests). The former group did not wish to *displace* the Southern Pacific, but only to *share* its privileges and stature. These acquisitive agrarian entrepreneurs wanted more than anything

to end the tapping of their incomes by a predatory railroad. Johnson's campaign slogan—"Kick the Southern Pacific out of politics"—thus had a very special appeal to them.<sup>34</sup>

Even though Charles Curry carried San Francisco and Sacramento counties in the August primary, he still ran a distant second to Hiram Johnson, who won a total of 101,666 votes, only 12,273 less than the combined total of his four Republican opponents.<sup>35</sup> Johnson had greatly underestimated his vote-getting ability in the urban areas of Southern California, for it was Los Angeles County which provided his margin of victory, delivering him one-fifth of his entire statewide vote. Other league candidates fared equally well, sweeping all contested offices in the southern counties and enough offices in the north to give the statewide Republican ticket a distinct reform flavor.

Such large returns for Johnson from Los Angeles County, and such impressive successes on the part of league candidates in the south, were due in large measure to the "dry" vote. The temperance movement was much stronger in the less urban south than in the industrial northern part of the state. This may be accounted for by the ethnic and religious contrast between Los Angeles and San Francisco residents. The inhabitants of Los Angeles were mainly migrants from the Middle West and Northeast, while the population of San Francisco was composed for the most part of foreign immigrants or their children.<sup>36</sup>

Chiefly responsible for linking the temperance cause to the Progressive Movement in California was Daniel M. Gandier, appointed legislative superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League in 1909. Without permitting the name of the league to be connected with the Johnson campaign in 1910, for fear of alienating northern "wets," Gandier had been able to bring many of the state's church organizations into the Johnson camp. The Anti-Saloon League concentrated mainly upon the election of Albert Wallace, Johnson's running mate, for it feared that a vote for Wallace, a prohibitionist, substantially smaller than that for Johnson, a "wet," would discredit the temperance movement. However, while the campaigns for the two candidates were conducted separately, both men profited from the support of the temperance people.<sup>37</sup>

Johnson was extremely pleased with his success in the primary election but realized that in Democratic primary winner Theodore Bell he faced an experienced and capable opponent. Bell, like Johnson, was a



progressive. Robert Hennings, an authority on California progressives of Democratic persuasion, has reminded us that, "Because of a tendency to associate all progressives with the party of Theodore Roosevelt, one is apt to forget that Wilson Democrats were also fond of styling themselves progressives. . . ." Progressive Democrats in California had much in common with their Republican counterparts, and the major difference was a "matter of traditional ties and personal ambitions. . . ." <sup>38</sup>

Theodore Bell had begun his political career as district attorney of Napa County. In 1902 he was one of the three Democrats from California in the house of representatives, but had been defeated for reelection in 1904. Bell had run unsuccessfully for governor in 1906, emphasizing the old Democratic theme of the 1880's—the railroad's domination of politics. He was repeating this antirailroad campaign in 1910. <sup>39</sup>

So far as the Republican Party was concerned, the Lincoln-Roosevelt League had proved itself the predominant power in California. Of the 428 delegates at the Republican State Convention in September, only a small minority were "regulars." The Republican platform prepared at that convention was similar to the Democratic, except that the Republicans indorsed woman suffrage and the national income tax. As the San Francisco *Chronicle* editorialized: "For the first time in history . . . the Republican platform is rather more radical than that of the Democrats." <sup>40</sup>

Because of the similarity of the platforms, the campaign turned largely on the personalities of Johnson and Bell. Both men denounced the Southern Pacific; in fact, Bell's campaign was virtually a duplication of his 1906 effort. But the Democratic candidate could not match Johnson's ability to delight crowds and to arouse enthusiasm among his supporters. Even though he and Johnson were in perfect agreement on the major issue of the day—railroad domination of state politics—Bell was charged repeatedly by Johnson with accepting railroad support. In Santa Barbara on October 6, for example, Johnson accused his opponent of "using the soft pedal" on William Herrin, chief counsel and political manager for the Southern Pacific, and the railroad interests. With masterly skill, Johnson painted a picture of a pliable Bell seeking to placate the machine by toning down his attacks. <sup>41</sup>

These were serious allegations, but it *was* apparent that Herrin and his cronies preferred Bell to win, believing him to be easier than the

intractable Johnson to manipulate. In fact, among Bell's supporters were the San Francisco *Globe*, the personal organ of Patrick Calhoun, Jere Burke, Herrin's right-hand man, and George A. Knight, a Southern Pacific attorney. Furthermore, Walter Parker, chief political agent of the Southern Pacific in Southern California, worked actively for Bell.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, a perceptive student of the campaign has concluded that there "is not a shred of evidence to indicate that Bell sought, welcomed, or encouraged this following or that he would have listened to it if elected."<sup>43</sup>

Johnson's chances received a boost in late August when W. H. Porterfield, editor-in-chief of the Scripps chain, announced that all the Scripps newspapers in California would indorse Hiram Johnson for governor.<sup>44</sup> But there could have been little doubt about the outcome of the election, for the Republicans were a distinct majority in the state. Despite this fact, Johnson's victory in November was not particularly resounding. Although he carried San Francisco by a narrow margin, he lost twenty-one of the remaining forty-nine northern counties. Again piling up decisive majorities in Southern California, he won all nine counties there.<sup>45</sup>

California now had an attractive and popular reform spokesman. Would his grandiose promises be translated into legislative reality? Fundamental reorganizations of state agencies had already been made in the fields of banking, insurance, and transportation.<sup>46</sup> Yet many problems still existed and much remained to be accomplished. Progressive Californians of all parties were confident that the Johnson Administration would continue the task of making the government of California more responsive to the popular will and more attuned to the needs of the people.

#### NOTES

1. *California Weekly*, January 29, 1909, p. 145.
2. George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), p. 81.
3. Lissner to La Follette, December 15, 1909, Lissner Papers, Borel Collection, Stanford University.
4. Rowell to Hiram Johnson, January 26, 1910, Rowell Papers, Bancroft Library.

5. Lissner to Rowell, January 29, 1910, Rowell Papers.
  6. *California Weekly*, February 11, 1910, p. 186.
  7. For a biographical sketch of Weinstock see Grace Larsen, "A Progressive in Agriculture: Harris Weinstock," *Agricultural History*, XXXII (July, 1958), 187-88.
  8. Franklin Hichborn, "California Politics, 1890-1949," Vol. II (xeroxed manuscript copy in the University of California School of Law, Berkeley), p. 913.
  9. Rowell to Lissner, January 31, 1910, Rowell Papers.
  10. Mowry, *The California Progressives*, p. 109.
  11. Weinstock to Johnson, February 13, 1910, Johnson Papers, Bancroft Library.
  12. Johnson to Rowell, February 23, 1910, Johnson Papers.
  13. Irving McKee, "The Background and Early Career of Hiram Warren Johnson, 1866-1910," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIX (February 1950), 17-19.
- After his son's selection as the league's candidate for governor, Grove Johnson let it be known that he would fight him in every precinct in the state. "I had no such information at the time of my nomination," Hiram Johnson wrote C. K. McClatchy, editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, "but I doubt if it would have altered my course anyway. . . . [It] would be quite heartbreaking to me if father should personally assail me during the campaign. . . ." February 26, 1910, Johnson Papers.
- Grove Johnson was defeated for renomination at the primaries, as he later was at the general election, when he ran for the assembly as a Prohibitionist. He resigned from office on December 1, 1910, a month before his term expired. *Sacramento Bee*, December 2, 1910.
14. See Robert E. L. Knight, *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1900-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), p. 241.
  15. Rowell to J. O. Haynes, March 14, 1910, Rowell Papers.
  16. *California Weekly*, March 18, 1910, p. 264. Gilman Ostrander writes that at the time of the election of 1910, Wallace was the "closest link between the [Anti-Saloon] League and the Progressive movement." *The Prohibition Movement in California, 1848-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), p. 106.
  17. *California Weekly*, March 25, 1910, p. 281.
  18. *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1910; *San Francisco Argonaut*, February 19, 1910, p. 115, and February 26, 1910, p. 129.
  19. Rowell to Mark Sullivan, May 27, 1910, Rowell Papers.
  20. Rowell to Johnson, February 22, 1910, Johnson Papers.
  21. Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, February 26, 1910; Johnson to Lissner, to Stimson, and to A. A. De Ligne, March 1, 1910, Johnson Papers. Also see Johnson to Rowell, February 20, 1910, Rowell Papers. For a list of the California newspapers supporting Johnson see Hiram Johnson, Jr., to Edward Dickson, March 31, 1910, Johnson Papers. In a letter to Norman Hapgood on April 19, 1910, Hiram

Johnson, Jr., claimed that eighty or ninety of the country newspapers, in addition to several major newspapers, were supporting his father's candidacy.

22. Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, April 19, 1910, Johnson Papers.

23. Johnson to Rowell, April 19, 1910, Johnson Papers. After the August primaries, the Republican nominee for lieutenant governor, Albert Wallace, complained about the lack of support he received from Johnson, contending that Johnson had conducted a "selfish campaign." Johnson wrote Lissner, Stimson, and Dickson: "I felt more or less contrite and told him that perhaps his criticism was just. . . ." August 20, 1910, Johnson Papers. Johnson had earlier written Rowell that Wallace "got on his nerves." Rowell to Lissner, April 20, 1910, Rowell Papers.

John D. Works also complained about lack of support from the league and from Lissner, Stimson, and Lee Gates. See Works to Johnson, June 6 and August 22, 1910, Johnson Papers. Years later, Works wrote Chester Rowell that, "I never had the sympathetic or earnest support of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League at Los Angeles from the very first. . . ." April 29, 1914, Works Papers, Bancroft Library.

24. Rowell to Lissner, April 20, 1910, Rowell Papers.

25. Rowell to Johnson, April 22, 1910, Rowell Papers.

26. For example, see Johnson to Bert A. Towne, March 1; to C. H. Bentley and to James H. Haynes, March 2; and to F. L. Platt, March 3, 1910, Johnson Papers.

27. Johnson to Mr. Brown, March 30, 1910, Johnson Papers.

28. Johnson to McCabe, May 29, 1910, Johnson Papers.

29. See Carey McWilliams, *California: The Great Exception* (New York: Current Books, Inc., 1949), p. 100, and Paul W. Gates, "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System," *American Historical Review*, XLI (July 1936), 668. For general land policy see W. W. Robinson's *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948).

30. Charles A. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background of Progress and Poverty," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIV (June 1945), 109.

31. See chapter 3 of Robert J. Pitchell's "Twentieth Century California Voting Behavior" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1955). A bulletin issued in 1912 by the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce and Labor, revealed that the number of farms in California in 1910 was 88,197. Of the 88,197 farm operators, 66,632 were classified as owners, 3,417 as managers, and 18,148 (or 20.6 per cent) as tenants. See the *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 5, 1912.

32. Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits, *Report* (Sacramento, 1916), pp. 7-8, as quoted in Samuel E. Wood, "The California State Commission of Immigration and Housing: A Study of Administrative Organization and the Growth of Function" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1942), p. 13. Wood states that in 1916 "over four million



acres of land suitable to intensive cultivation and capable of supporting a dense population were owned by 310 landed proprietors. . . " *Ibid.*, p. 14.

33. The most complete data relating to agricultural employment in California during this period relate to 1909 when surveys were made by both the United States Immigration Commission and the State Bureau of Labor Statistics. On 2,369 farms the Bureau found the proportion of labor by race and nationality to be as follows:

Whites	25,826	47.4%
Japanese	22,811	41.9%
Chinese	2,091	3.8%
Mexicans	1,847	3.4%
Indians	1,033	1.9%
Hindus	773	1.4%
Others	82	0.2%
	<hr/> 54,463	<hr/> 100.0%

From the Bureau of Labor Statistics' *Fourteenth Biennial Report, 1909-1910*, p. 268, as cited in Levi Varden Fuller, "The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1939), p. 158. This study was printed as Exhibit A in U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Hearings, Agricultural Labor in California*, 76th Congress, 3d Sess., Part 54, 1940, pp. 19777-19898.

34. For an incisive discussion of agrarian entrepreneurialism in California during the Progressive era, see Robert Kelley, "Taming the Sacramento: Hamiltonianism in Action," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIV (February, 1965), 45-47, 49.

35. *Statement of the Vote of California, Direct Primary Election, August 16, 1910* (Sacramento, 1910), p. 3. The votes of the other candidates were as follows: Curry—55,390; Anderson—38,295; Stanton—18,226; and Ellery—2,028. For lieutenant governor, Wallace received 66,762 votes, while the "regular" Republican candidate, Francis V. Keesling, won 64,037.

36. Gilman Ostrander writes that by "1910, 68 per cent of the population of San Francisco was foreign born or children of foreign born, while in Los Angeles County the foreign born and first-generation Americans made up but 35 per cent of the population. . . . In 1906 the population of Los Angeles was 56 per cent Protestant, of San Francisco, 15 per cent Protestant. . . ." *The Prohibition Movement in California, 1848-1937*, p. 65.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

38. Robert E. Hennings, "James D. Phelan and the Wilson Progressives of California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1961), p. ii.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 47.

40. San Francisco *Chronicle*, September 8, 1910.
41. San Francisco *Bulletin*, October 6, 1910. Also see the reports of speeches in Fresno and San Luis Obispo in the *Bulletin*, October 1 and 7, 1910.
42. San Francisco *Bulletin*, October 6, 1910.
43. James Crawford, "The Democratic Party of California and Political Reform, 1902-1910" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1959), pp. 135-36. Bell's "following," however, caused him some harm among California Democrats, for as James D. Phelan wrote Henry Morgenthau of New York: "Bell has affiliated with the . . . United Railroad 'machine' . . . For these reasons, Bell has lost the confidence of the right thinking Democrats and independent men of California." August 29, 1910, Phelan Papers, Bancroft Library.
44. Porterfield to Johnson, August 24, 1910, Johnson Papers.
45. The gubernatorial returns were as follows: Johnson-177,191; Bell-154,835; J. Stitt Wilson (Socialist)-47,819; and Simeon Pease Meads (Prohibitionist)-5,807. See the *California Blue Book, 1911* (Sacramento, 1913), p. 432.
46. See Ira B. Cross, *Financing an Empire: History of Banking in California* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1927), II, 724. Also see Gerald D. Nash, "The Role of the State Government in the Economy of California, 1849-1911" (published Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1957), p. 362, and Nash, "Bureaucracy and Economic Reform: The Experience of California, 1899-1911," *Western Political Quarterly*, XIII (September, 1960), 680-691.

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# The Huntington Library: Fifteen Years' Growth, 1951-1966

By JOHN E. POMFRET

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JOHN E. POMFRET  
Director of the Henry Huntington Library, 1951-1966

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JOHN E. POMFRET, who received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, successively became an associate professor and assistant dean at Princeton, a professor of history and dean of the Graduate School at Vanderbilt University, president of William and Mary College, and then director of the famous Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Despite his administrative duties, Dr. Pomfret found time to write numerous scholarly monographs and articles, and after forty-two years of scholarly and administrative work is retiring as director of the Huntington Library (1951-1966) this month.

IN 1951, under the chairmanship of the distinguished scientist, Robert A. Millikan, the board of trustees, in the belief that the inflationary postwar tendencies would certainly come to a halt, adopted a policy of prudence toward expanding the activities and acquisitions of the Huntington Library. Few important purchases were made, either of manuscript materials, rare books, or paintings. Modest operating surpluses, which appeared yearly, were carefully husbanded in a reserve fund—to be spent when price levels receded; or hopefully, deteriorated. No major physical improvements were undertaken, except that a new wing, long-planned, was added to the Library in 1951 at a cost approximating \$500,000. There were no extensions to the botanical gardens.

By 1957 the governing board, now completely changed in personnel, and with Homer D. Crotty as chairman, reached the conclusion that the price and wage inflation was here to stay, and it altered the policy of the institution accordingly. In the last ten years there has been a substantial rise of income—from \$860,000 per annum to \$1,300,000. These same years have witnessed tremendous growth throughout the institution. This accomplishment has been achieved in spite of creeping inflation, subjecting the institution to rising salary scales and soaring prices. Thus, in all its activity of the past decade the Library has been called upon to exercise a high degree of selectivity in whatever it has undertaken.

During the period 1951 to 1966 the services the institution has been called upon to perform have increased many fold. The exhibitions department has been kept fully occupied by reason of the increase of visitors from 146,000 to 360,000 per annum. The number of visiting school groups has multiplied, while the introduction of a docents program for selected elementary school groups has kept the art gallery personnel busy three mornings a week. The docents are drawn from volunteers from the membership of the Junior League of Pasadena and are excellently trained by the art curator. The botanical curator, at present, is forming a group of docents drawn from the Diggers Garden Club of Pasadena and the Pasadena Garden Club for guided tours of the botanical gardens. The seminar room has been used far more frequently than ever before for meetings of high school teachers and other professional groups, and for scholarly conferences.



For many years the library built to strength in Mr. Huntington's original rare book and manuscript collections. It also proceeded to gather a suitable collection of reference books for the use of scholars. In general, the field of the Huntington Library embraces English and American history and literature from the fifteenth century. The high points of the original collections pertain to English Renaissance history and literature, early American history, the American Revolution, the Civil War, and Far Western history. Substantial manuscript collections accompanied the rare book imprints in these fields. Mr. Huntington was also interested in the arts of the book—fine illustrations, printing, and bindings. Frederick Jackson Turner, the historian, and one of the first research associates, described the Huntington Library as a place where the scholar would find nuggets. Later it became an institution where scholars would remain for long periods of study and complete their manuscripts.

The first librarians, and more especially Godfrey Davies and Louis B. Wright, research associates, built up the collection of seventeenth-century books, tracts, and pamphlets to great strength. In this area the Huntington holdings compare favorably with those of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Folger libraries. Since 1951 the library has added 800 titles of the period 1475-1640 and 5,000 titles for the period 1641-1700. Books in the former field are now well-nigh unobtainable and those in the latter, hard to come by. In the future, additions will have to be Xerox or photostatic copies for the most part because of scarcity. Prices for such books have quadrupled in fifteen years. The library also undertook to add to the collection of rare early American imprints, supplementing the great Church Collection for which Mr. Huntington paid approximately \$1,000,000. Such items are almost impossible to find, for they are much sought after by collectors. For example, a prospectus of the Ohio Company (Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, 1786) brought \$1,750 in the fifties, but went for \$5,100 in 1966. It is not wise for research libraries to compete with the avid collector. These enthusiasts enjoy outbidding one another. The university and the research library can take comfort in the fact that eventually collectors' libraries come to rest in institutional libraries where the scholar can make free use of them. Collecting is such a fascinating hobby that one almost

views with regret the withdrawal of such items from the market place. Perhaps it would be better if the libraries did not compete with the private collector at all.

The Huntington, then, has been able to add little material recently to its collections on the American Revolution and the formative period of the United States. With the Civil War, also a major field, it has been different. There have been substantial manuscript additions pertaining to military leaders from General Hooker and Admiral Farragut down. The tremendous Samuel Barlow Archive, political and economic in nature, spans the period of the Civil War and enters into the Reconstruction Period. Purchased in 1959, it has been studied by a dozen scholars in American history. With the appointment of Dr. Allan Nevins as a research associate in 1958, large accretions of Civil War materials were obtained, including many diaries, journals, and military papers. Under his direction most of the Civil War Centennial Commission's studies on the Civil War were written at the library. Mr. Nevins served as chairman of the Centennial Commission by appointment of President John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Huntington had collected a number of California and Far Western items during his lifetime, notably the Henry R. Wagner Collection on the Plains and the Rockies. When Mr. Leslie Bliss became librarian he continued this quest, acquiring not only Californiana, but a great body of material dealing with the Southwest, the Northwest, and the Mormons. Since the Bancroft Library held a great collection of early Californiana, it was decided to emphasize at the Huntington the American Period, beginning about 1850. When scholars in substantial numbers began to use this collection, it was decided to invite Dr. Robert G. Cleland, dean of Occidental College in 1943, to become research associate in this field. At the same time, Mr. Herbert Hoover, then a trustee, urged that the library enhance its work in Far Western history so that the institution might share a real interest with the community.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bliss intensified his efforts in acquiring materials. He ranged far and wide on field trips several times a year, obtaining source materials through gift and purchase. He visited the Southwest and the Northwest once a year and never failed to spend some time in Utah gathering Mormon material. A substantial reference collection in Far Western materials aided scholars working at the library. The publica-

tions department began to publish a series of books on California and Far Western History, the most popular of which was Dr. Cleland's own California book, *Cattle on a Thousand Hills*.

Efforts have been made to collect in nearly all facets of California's history in the period 1850-1900: political and social history; transportation, agriculture, and industry; promotional literature and local history. Many of these collections extend into the twentieth century. The growth and expansion of the oil industry has also been an active field of collecting. Books and pamphlets printed in Los Angeles County in almost every field in the twentieth century have been collected. A collection of county histories has been all but completed. Examples of the imprints of every California private press have been garnered, but difficulties have been encountered in acquiring original California drawings. In addition to obtaining microfilms of leading California newspapers, the library has spared no pains in seeking to acquire original runs of early California newspapers. The same can be said for the collecting of directories, maps, guides, prints, and photographs. Recently, for example, a fine contemporary copy of the Map of the Ord Survey of Los Angeles, 1849, an item of great rarity, was donated. The Huntington Library is "knee-deep" in such materials, with the result that more than one hundred scholars use the California collections annually in preparing their manuscripts for publication.

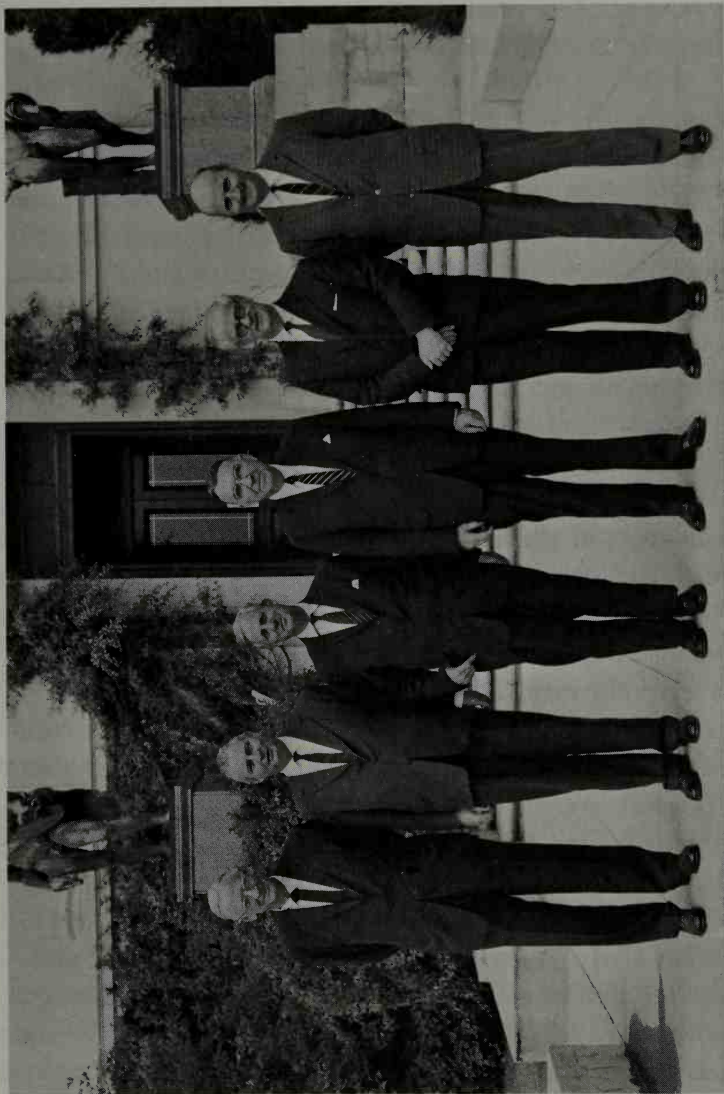
After acquiring the basic reference tools during the twenties, the librarians checked Mr. Huntington's English collections against the Pollard and Redgrave catalogue and the Wing catalogue and the Americana against Sabin, Evans, and Wagner. The missing items comprised a useful "want list" for the institution. Since microcard copies of all the items listed in Evans have been obtained by the library, it is no longer essential to purchase originals at astronomical prices. Research libraries, thanks to photo-reproduction, eventually will have copies of all imprints necessary for scholars. During the early years reference materials were similarly controlled. Large "want lists" were compiled by checking the Conyers Read-Godfrey Davies bibliographies of English seventeenth-century history; and, later the bibliographies of the *Harvard Guide to American History* and the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*. As new bibliographies appear, they, too, will be checked against the library's holdings.

During the last eight years the library has made new thrusts in systematic collecting. At the suggestion of Chairman Crotty the acquisition of research materials in English literature was projected through the eighteenth century. It was decided also to extend the collections in English and American political, economic, and social history from 1870 to 1945. Both contemporary and reference materials would be acquired. In the last four years several thousand reference works have been added in recent American history, and the same process will be followed in the field of English history. In the field of American fiction the collections of first editions were extended from 1870 to 1901. With the aid of Reference Librarian Lyle Wright's monumental three-volume bibliography of American fiction, 1774-1901, hundreds of first editions have been obtained. The holdings to 1901 have been 70 per cent completed. At the same time, on Mr. Crotty's recommendation, first editions of the works of selected living English and American fiction writers, essayists, dramatists, and poets are being acquired by the Librarian, Robert O. Dougan, as a supplement to the great collections of early fiction.

Mr. Huntington did not collect systematically the works of classical authors or of Continental Renaissance authors. Because students of English literature needed such material for intensive studies of English Renaissance literature, the Library began to acquire the complete works of continental writers. Librarian Dougan has already made three trips to the continent to expedite this large program. He has visited Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and Denmark. As a result, the library has amassed a collection of many thousand volumes, both contemporary and the best modern editions. At the same time, thanks to annual gifts from the Braun Foundation, the library began to purchase the best modern editions of the Latin and Greek classics. When Renaissance editions of the classics are to be found, these, too, are added. Thus, it is now possible for visiting scholars to remain at the library for long periods of time, completing their manuscripts without the need of visiting other institutions for this ancillary material.

Scholars studying at the library are urged to suggest the purchase of works that might be helpful to them in their researches. Such requests are entered upon the library's "want lists," so that through the years the





*Courtesy of Henry E. Huntington Library*

**HUNTINGTON LIBRARY RESEARCH STAFF**

*Left to right:* RAY A. BILLINGTON (Western History), JOHN M. STEADMAN (English Literature), ALLAN NEVINS (American History), JOHN E. POMFRET (Early American History), A. L. ROWSE (English History), ROBERT R. WARK (Art History).

suggestions of readers have led to the purchase of several thousand titles. Where it appears that only the reader himself can make use of his suggested title, it is generally not purchased. But when it is obvious that such a work will be needed by more than one scholar, the library attempts to acquire it. The primary object of the Huntington, as a research library, is to bring the scholar and the research materials together.

One of the unique features of the Huntington Library is a corps of research associates, each of whom is expert in one of the library's research fields. At present, Allan Nevins represents the Civil War and recent American history; Ray A. Billington, the American Frontier and Far Western history; the writer, early American history; A. L. Rowse, English history; J. M. Steadman, English literature; and Robert R. Wark, English art. These men are engaged in the writing of books. In addition, they orient and advise with visiting scholars, help to select fellows and grantees, appraise manuscripts submitted for publication, and assist the library in recommending the acquisition of books and manuscripts for purchase. Younger scholars are fortunate in having the association with some of the leading writers in their respective fields. Indeed, the research associates attract younger men to the Huntington Library.

Max Farrand had introduced the institution of the research associate soon after his arrival in 1927. One of his first appointments was that of the American historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, author of the frontier thesis. He was soon followed by Godfrey Davies, the Stuart historian, and by Louis B. Wright, now director of the Folger Shakespeare Library. At the same time, C. H. Collins Baker, former Keeper of the National Gallery, London, was appointed research associate in the history of English art. Edwin Gay, the economic historian, and Robert G. Cleland, historian of the American Southwest, became regular members of the research staff in 1936 and 1943 respectively. Dixon Wecter, the social historian, joined the staff in 1944. Both Gay and Wecter served terms as chairmen of research following Max Farrand's retirement.

In 1950 Frederick B. Tolles of Swarthmore joined the staff as a research associate in the field of early American history, and the following year, French Fogle of Barnard College in the field of English litera-

ture. Godfrey Davies and Robert G. Cleland died in 1957. Tolles returned to Swarthmore as research professor and Fogle became professor at the Claremont Graduate College. It was necessary for the director to rebuild the research staff. Robert Wark joined the staff in 1956, Allan Nevins in 1958, A. L. Rowse and John M. Steadman in 1962, and Ray A. Billington in 1963. Nevins is a leading American historian, especially of the Civil War; Rowse a recognized authority on the age of Elizabeth I; Billington a notable historian of the American Frontier; Steadman an indefatigable student of the work of John Milton; and Wark a specialist in eighteenth-century art history. Nevins came to the Huntington from Columbia; Rowse, as senior fellow for half of each year, from All Souls, Oxford; Billington from Northwestern; Steadman from residence in Oxford; and Wark from Yale University.

The personnel of the institution underwent drastic changes during the five years from 1956 to 1961 through illness, death, and retirement. Davies, Cleland, Schad, Herman Mead, and Willard Waters, stalwarts as writers and bibliographers, disappeared from the scene. The writing, however, continued at a swift pace. R. R. Wark, the new art curator, published his edition of *Discourses on Art* by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1959 and followed this work with *French Decorative Art in the Huntington Collection* and Rowlandson's *Drawings for a Tour in a Post Chaise*. Allan Nevins has written several volumes of his history of the Civil War, together with publishing a Civil War diary, *The Statesmanship of the Civil War*, *Herbert H. Lehman and His Era*, and a number of others. A. L. Rowse, dividing his time with All Souls College, Oxford, published in succession *Sir Walter Raleigh: His Family and Private Life*, *William Shakespeare: a Biography*, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, *Christopher Marlowe*, and *Shakespeare's Southampton*. John E. Pomfret published three colonial works: *The Province of West New Jersey*, *The Province of East New Jersey*, and *The New Jersey Proprietors and Their Lands*. John Steadman published more than twenty-five scholarly articles, principally on John Milton, and has two Milton books ready for publication. Ray A. Billington, the most recent research staff member, is engaged upon several works on the American frontier. While here, he has published several notable articles on Frederick Jackson Turner. The annual reports reveal the full scope of the writing of members of the research staff.

Other departments have also contributed to the research effort. Lyle H. Wright has prepared and published the third and final volume of his standard bibliography of American fiction. Herbert Schulz, who wrote *Ten Centuries of Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, with Norma Cuthbert and Haydée Noya, has just completed a fine pamphlet on the Ellesmere Chaucer, Jean Preston has carried on a bibliographical tradition in contributing discriminating articles on "Collections of English Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library" and "Problems in the Use of Manuscripts." Valuable in themselves, such works are of great use to scholars working at the library. The Hertrich tradition of writing on the botanical gardens, carried on by Messrs. Asper and Wylam, has been augmented by the new botanical curator, Myron Kinnach, whose specialty is desert plants.

Although a permanent research staff was not formally established until 1930 and the program of fellowships and grants until 1931, both were innovated by Max Farrand shortly after his appointment as director of research. Since 1931 the research staff has varied from two to seven, and the number of grantees averaged from fifteen to thirty-five. More than five hundred fellowships and grants have been made to distinguished professors since the beginning, mainly in the fields of English and American history and literature. The personnel of the great English and American libraries, art galleries, and museums has also been represented. Half the grantees have been historians. The early years saw a galaxy of distinguished historians: Frederick Jackson Turner, C. M. Andrews, Avery Craven, Dr. William Welch, Howard Mumford Jones, Charles McIlwaine, Carl Becker, Merle Curti, Allan Nevins, Louis B. Wright, and Dixon Wecter from American institutions, and T. F. Tout, Sir William Beveridge, F. M. Powicke, H. S. Bennett, Vivian Galbraith, and Sir George Clark from English institutions. These men were matched by an equally distinguished group of scholars of English literature. One cannot help mentioning such names as C. F. Tucker Brooke, Chauncey B. Tinker, Felix Schelling, George W. Sherburn, Hardin Craig, Oscar J. Campbell, Frank P. Wilson, Lily Bess Campbell, R. W. Chambers, Gerald E. Bentley, Marjorie Nicolson, Joan Bennett, Merritt Y. Hughes, and Henry Nash Smith. Later arrivals have matched the earlier ones in distinction.

For readers of the *Quarterly* the library's entry into California and



Far Western history will not be without interest. Shortly after Robert G. Cleland, an historian of California, became a research associate in the history of the Southwest, he obtained a grant of \$50,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation and a gift of \$21,000 from Keith Spalding for the purpose of developing this field of history at the Huntington Library. The funds were used for two purposes, the acquisition of historical materials and the award of grants-in-aid to assist scholars in this field. In all about thirty scholars worked at the library during periods of from two months to a year. Seventeen of them eventually published books.

Dr. Cleland administered this fund with great wisdom. During the period of maximum activity he, himself, wrote *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, *This Reckless Breed of Men*, *From Wilderness to Empire*, and finally he edited, with Juanita Brooks, the extensive diaries of John D. Lee. Miss Brooks, a grantee, wrote *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, a well-known book, and Glenn Dumke published his *Boom of the Eighties in Southern California*. Robert Hine did a unique study entitled *California's Utopian Colonies*, and Rodman Paul an outstanding work, *California Gold*. These are the more prominent publications arising from the Southwestern program.

Since the designation of California and the Southwest as a special field, interest has never lagged. Nearly 20 per cent of all readers are engaged in studying the political, social, and economic history of this area. Hardly a year goes by that the Huntington Library does not publish one book in this field. Collecting of material continues apace. Leslie Bliss aided in the purchase of the large Cave Coutts Archive dealing with Southern California. Through the courtesy of Father Thompson of Los Angeles permission was obtained to take films of the great de la Guerra Collection which contains correspondence of all the Spanish governors of California. Brother Veronius Henry of Mont La Salle has been of great assistance in taking microfilms of the California Franciscan Mission records and of the rancho land grants.

The great California Centennial Celebration of 1948 prompted a large number of studies and books on the history of the state. The study of the Gold Rush Period has been exhaustive. It is hoped that California historians will now turn their attention to the last hundred years. The Huntington Library for many years has been gathering materials for

studies in this field. The largest single collection, besides the inevitable business and ranch papers, is that given by John Anson Ford, who was supervisor of Los Angeles County for a crucial period of twenty-four years. The diaries of Henry O'Melveny, also a gift, are indispensable for the earlier history of Los Angeles.

Dr. Max Farrand in 1928 persuaded the trustees to embark upon a program of publication, not only to include the printing of unpublished manuscripts and the reprinting of rare books in the collections, but, in time, research studies written at the library. This series began illustriously with the publication of several of the Huntington's great treasures, as *The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts* and the unique first quarto edition of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* of 1603. These early publications were issued in co-operation with the Harvard University Press, and this association lasted nearly a decade. Eight books were published under the joint program. Since 1938 the Library has published under its own imprint and has distributed its own books. Occasionally it has taken part in joint publications. In recent years the great majority of books bearing the Huntington Library imprint have been manuscripts written at the library by staff members or scholars working there and based, to an appreciable extent, upon original materials in the library's collections. The publications department, under the leadership of the director, has endeavored to publish six volumes a year and to maintain an active list of from fifty to sixty volumes. This department also publishes guides and handbooks for visitors, and the profits from such sales are used for the support of the publication of scholarly books. The publications program is for the most part self-supporting.

Part of Mr. Farrand's program of publication included issuing twice a year a Huntington Library bulletin containing material that was too brief for publication in book form. The first *Bulletin* was published in May, 1931, and included Robert O. Schad's fine synthesis, "Huntington Library Collections," Valuable bibliographical contributions such as Willard O. Waters, "American Imprints, 1648-1797, in the Huntington Library" (supplementing Evans) and C. K. Edmonds, "Supplement to the *Short Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*," appeared in the *Bulletin*. Beginning in October, 1937, the *Huntington Library Quarterly* superseded the *Huntington Library Bulletins*. Beginning with a modest number of subscriptions, the circulation at pres-

ent is about one thousand. Successive editors of the *Quarterly* have been Godfrey Davies, French Fogel, Robert R. Wark, and John M. Steadman III. The majority of the *Quarterly* contributions are submitted by staff members, grantees and former grantees, and readers of the library. This learned journal represents fairly the intellectual activity of a research library such as the Huntington. Many who are distinguished scholars today first appeared in print in the *Quarterly*.

The Huntington Art Collections are housed in Mr. Huntington's mansion and were opened to the public in January, 1928. To display to better advantage the largest and most important paintings, the trustees in 1933 added a main gallery on the west end. The original collections consisted, besides British paintings of the Georgian Period by the eight great masters, of eighteenth-century French furniture, Sèvres and Chelsea porcelains, Renaissance bronzes, Beauvais tapestries, and a notable collection of prints and drawings. Included, too, in the art collections are the art objects in the Arabella Huntington Memorial Wing, established in the west wing of the library building by Mr. Huntington in 1927. These rooms contain a number of Mrs. Huntington's paintings of the Italian and Flemish school of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and carefully chosen sculptures, porcelains, and period pieces of French furniture.

Maurice Block became art curator in 1928 and remained until his retirement in 1948. In the fall of 1932 Collins Baker became the first art historian and a member of the research staff. To Mr. Block fell the task of preparing and arranging the paintings for public exhibition. Besides supervising the cleaning and repairing, Mr. Block was called upon to catalogue, photograph, and authenticate the entire collection, and to inaugurate a curator's art reference library. Collins Baker was asked to prepare a comprehensive *Catalogue of British Paintings in the Huntington Library*, which was published in a de luxe edition in 1936. In 1931 Mr. Block published the first of a series of handbooks upon the collections, *François Boucher and the Beauvais Tapestries*, and in 1941, in response to a popular demand, *The Huntington Art Collection*, a handbook that has subsequently run through many editions and printings. The plan of publishing books and pamphlets on various segments of the collection has been admirably carried out by the present curator, Dr. Robert R. Wark.

From the beginning the trustees were aware of the need of rounding out Mr. Huntington's collection of paintings. Essentially this meant searching for masters who were not represented and obtaining examples of earlier works of the great painters. Beginning in 1934 examples of the work of Kneller, Hogarth, Highmore, Hudson, and Crome, Wilson, Malton, and Ramsay were obtained and an early Gainsborough, "Lady with a Spaniel." Others came later, a number of them as gifts. The progress of the art gallery was interrupted by World War II. The major paintings and other art objects were removed for safe-keeping and not returned for exhibit until November 1, 1944. Meanwhile, the exhibition area was extended to the second floor, now designated as the upper gallery. Several rooms there were converted to accommodate temporary exhibitions. An English period room was completed in 1941, and in 1944 the Florence M. Quinn Collection, a generous gift (1938), was opened to the public in the newly furnished Georgian Room. The War Period closed with the gift of Raeburn's "Mrs. John Pitcairn" by Hon. W. Averell Harriman.

With the retirement of Maurice Block and C. H. Collins Baker in 1948, no appointments were made until the selection of Dr. Theodore Heinrich as curator, January 1, 1951. He was succeeded, after an interval, by Dr. Robert Wark, the present curator, on October 1, 1956. During this interim William A. Parish, curator of prints, acted as curator. The trustees, in response to the urging of Trustee James R. Page, purchased Turner's "Ludlow Castle," a small version of Constable's "Salisbury Cathedral," and a pair of small Hogarths. Mrs. Margaret T. Hunter inaugurated a photographic archive, in co-operation with several other institutions, that was to grow to immense proportions and endow the gallery with photographic reproductions of most of the eighteenth-century English paintings in private collections. During this period, also, a large number of gifts were made to the gallery, among them several sporting prints to which the trustees added the work of Alken and Morland and, in 1957, two sporting paintings of Ben Marshall. The late Charles Strub donated several examples of the work of Stubbs and Sartorius, giving the gallery a representative collection of eighteenth-century equine and hunting paintings. A beginning was made through the gifts of Mr. and Mrs. James R. Page, Mrs. Richard



Schweppe and others, of an English antique silver collection which, within a decade, became a major collection.

With the coming of Robert R. Wark as curator in 1956, a fresh impetus was added, also, to the activities of the art gallery. A program of renovation (now complete) was undertaken, the gallery was put into first-class condition, a docent program for school children was begun, and an annual series of art lectures inaugurated. With the need of obtaining an export license from the English Board of Trade for paintings of national value, the possibility of adding major eighteenth-century paintings greatly diminished. Nevertheless, the curator was able to obtain examples of the work of Hayman, Wright of Derby, Morland, Cosway, Raeburn, Constable, Cotes, Devis, and Etty.

Dr. Wark in 1957 began the acquisition of a collection of English drawings and water colors of the Georgian School of British painters. This type of material at the time could be obtained at reasonable prices. In addition to individual purchases, two large collections were obtained, the great Gilbert Davis Collection of 1,700 items by 365 artists and the cream of the collection of Sir Bruce Ingram consisting of 365 drawings and water colors, giving the Huntington one of the best holdings in this field. Mr. Huntington had made a fine beginning with his Rowlandson, Cruikshank, and Blake purchases.

In 1958 Mrs. William B. Munro presented the art gallery with five pieces of antique silver, and the next year she donated twenty-four handsome silver mugs. Thus began the important William B. Munro Memorial Collection of Early English Silver, to which additions have been made annually. The field of the collection is primarily Tudor and Stuart silver. In 1966 the trustees, with the assistance of Mrs. Munro, purchased a complete set of Apostle Spoons of 1527, one of the few complete sets of such antiquity. This acquisition raised the Huntington's collection of early British silver to a position comparable to the best in America. As the annual reports testify, the art gallery through the years has attracted a myriad of generous friends who, through gift and bequest, have enabled it to greatly enrich its collections.

By the indenture of the founder, the institution is open to the public free of charge. Approximately three hundred sixty thousand visitors a year journey to San Marino to view the Art Gallery, the Library exhi-

bitions, and the Botanical Gardens. The development of the botanical gardens on the 207-acre estate was the task of one remarkable man, William T. Hertrich, who was curator and superintendent until 1947. He laid out the famous desert plant garden, the palm garden, the lily ponds, the north vista, and the Japanese garden. The exciting story of these developments is told in Mr. Hertrich's book, *Huntington Botanical Gardens, 1905-1949*.

With Mr. Hertrich's retirement he continued to live on the grounds and to act as consultant until his recent death. He was succeeded in turn by Ronald Townsend, J. Howard Asper, and Myron Kinnach. The development of the botanical gardens was continued by Mr. Hertrich's successors, and since 1951 the display areas have been enlarged from fifty to one hundred acres. Only a few of the innovations can be noted here. In February, 1952, with the enthusiastic support of the Camellia Society of Southern California, a camellia garden was opened to the public. Located along the beautiful slope east of the Japanese house, it contains more than two thousand varieties, largely Japonica. In 1959, in an area of a half acre just abutting the northwest corner of the art gallery, a handsome Shakespeare Garden was installed. In the same year thirty acres of border lands were opened to the public. The area beyond the Torii gate on the south side of the estate will become an Australian garden with many varieties of eucalyptus trees and flowering shrubs. Trustee Homer D. Crotty has taken the lead in opening up new areas to the public. So much land has been added to the display area that it is no longer possible for a visitor travelling by foot to see the botanical gardens in one afternoon's visit.

From the time the institution was opened to the public in 1927, it has received many gifts. The most frequent have been of books and manuscripts to the library, art objects to the gallery, plant specimens to the botanical gardens, and gifts of money to subsidize scholarly publications. Year after year, there are more than three hundred donors, large and small. Mrs. Edward Bodman, for example, through the years, has supplied the nucleus of a great print collection; while Mrs. William B. Munro has worked unceasingly at building up an important collection of early English antique silver. One could list one hundred important donations through the past fifteen years.

The organization known as the Friends of the Huntington Library

was founded by Henry O. Wheeler, Edward D. Lyman, William W. Clary, Homer D. Crotty, and Max Farrand in 1938. This group has grown in size from 740 in 1951 to 2,100 at present. The friends pay a modest annual membership, the income from which is used to purchase rare books, manuscripts, art objects, and items for the botanical gardens, and occasionally to subsidize the publication of an important book. Such donations are recommended for purchase by the library at semiannual meetings of the Board of Directors of the Friends. Each year the friends are the guests of the trustees at Friends Day in June and Founders Day in February. Special exhibitions are arranged for the friends on these festive occasions.

The Huntington Library will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary in 1969. Through the years the institution has not only carried out sedulously its original purposes, as set forth by the indentures of the trust, but it has increased its value to the public and the scholarly community. The exhibitions and the gardens have been notably enhanced, with the result that public attendance has more than doubled in the last fifteen years. Readership by scholars at the library has increased in the same proportion. Huntington Library scholars from the leading institutions of the United States and Great Britain come to research and write. The number of scholarly books in print that bear acknowledgment to the Huntington Library is legion. The Huntington art collections are known throughout the English-speaking world, and the botanical gardens, with the finest desert plant garden in the world, attract the attention of horticulturists from many countries. In large, the Huntington Library has striven, within its compass, to extend knowledge and enrich human culture.

THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
TO THE PRESENT TIME  
BY  
JOHN B. BOWEN  
OF THE CITY OF BOSTON  
IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. I.  
BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY  
J. B. BOWEN, 1845.

The history of the city of Boston, from the first settlement to the present time, is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a city of great antiquity, and has been the seat of many of the most important events in the history of the United States. The city was founded in 1630, and has since that time been a center of commerce and industry. It has been the seat of many of the most important events in the history of the United States, and has played a prominent part in the development of the nation. The city has a rich and varied history, and its story is one of great interest and importance. The history of the city of Boston, from the first settlement to the present time, is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a city of great antiquity, and has been the seat of many of the most important events in the history of the United States. The city was founded in 1630, and has since that time been a center of commerce and industry. It has been the seat of many of the most important events in the history of the United States, and has played a prominent part in the development of the nation. The city has a rich and varied history, and its story is one of great interest and importance.



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# The Masters of San Gabriel Mission's Old Mill

By GLENN S. DUMKE

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AT THIS HOUR we have the pleasure and the privilege of honoring an old building—not so old at that—which in the short space of a century and a half has bridged the gap between California of the missions and California of the freeways. It is a respectable old building and a beautiful one, as you can see. Its adobe walls and Spanish tile have basked under the sun and rain of southern California when the Mexican flag flew over the Los Angeles plaza, when the battle of Chino was fought, when the Cahuenga Capitulation was signed, when the free harbor fight was won, when the Los Angeles Times was bombed, when the Pasadena Freeway was built, and when the Art Museum was only a gleam in the eye of a county official. It has been here for some time, by western standards, and it is a venerable structure.

We could spend some time talking about its construction, how raw-hide mittens were used to pat the plaster into place, both when mission Indians did it first and again when it was restored by the Brehms; how ox blood and native oak and walnut stains formed the pigment for the paints; how the door and window frames were charred by fire to form a harder surface; how the winnowed grain got wet because the vertical shaft was too short and water from the millrace splattered up onto the grinding wheels; how a smooth-bore musket barrel was used to drain off seepage through the masonry wall by the crude wooden water valve. Frederick Ruppel, the architect who restored Mission San Juan

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GLENN S. DUMKE, author of *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* and specialist on the *American Period*, is Chancellor of The California State Colleges. Dr. Dumke, who worked with Dr. Robert G. Cleland in researching and writing *El Molino Viejo*, delivered this speech at the ceremony of the presentation of the keys to El Molino Viejo by the city of San Marino to California Historical Society on October 24, 1965.



*Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*  
**EL MOLINO VIEJO, AFTER 1926**

Capistrano, and who rebuilt El Molino under its last private owner, saw to it that the old methods were used even in the restoration, and they were very interesting methods, and practical ones, which involved an unbelievable amount of human labor.

But to me the interest of any structure is not in its bricks and mortar, but rather in the human beings who built it and used it. And the men and women of the Old Mill were well worthy of attention. I want to tell you about a few of them, not all by any means, and the ones I omit or pass over are not the less significant for that fact. But what I have tried to do here is to indicate the range and color and scope of the people whose ghosts haunt this old building.

One was the Franciscan friar who built the mill. José María de Zalvidea was a tall man with that fair complexion which seems somehow inappropriate to old Spain but which is fairly common there. He was born in Bilbao in 1780, just as the American Revolution passed its midpoint. When he was eighteen years old he joined the Franciscan order, and six years later was sent to the College of San Fernando, Franciscan missionary headquarters in Mexico City. When he was twenty-five, he was sent to the outermost frontier—Alta California—and served in four missions, San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Luis Rey. It was during his tenure at San Gabriel, from 1806 to 1827, that he built El Molino Viejo.

You have all read, I am sure, of the religious zeal of Father Junípero Serra, of how he refused to allow his ulcerated leg to be treated, because he was convinced that agony of the flesh brought about purification of the spirit. Zalvidea was much like Serra in this respect. He took his religion seriously, and acquired those eccentricities which in earlier centuries formed an acceptable behavior pattern for a pious man of God. When he ate, he mixed all his dishes together in an unappetizing mess, apparently on the theory that it was sinful to gain pleasure from food; he often scourged himself, and wore a belt with sharp iron points on its inner surface; he developed the habit of talking to himself, and while I can fully understand any administrator developing *that* habit, he conducted dialogues with the devil as he walked in meditation around the mission garden. When anyone addressed him, he immediately replied with the peculiar phrase, “¡Vamos, sí, señor!” (Let's go! Yes, sir!)

But despite these mannerisms, Zalvidea was a good churchman, an able mission manager, and an energetic and creative person. It was at least partly due to his leadership that Mission San Gabriel developed the nickname, "richest of the missions," which was the first evidence of Southern California's getting ahead of the Bay Area, and antedated both the Music Center and reapportionment by some decades. Zalvidea developed a sawmill, tannery, and wool works, controlled the flow of water in the streams, and made the mission a prosperous, self-sufficient economic enterprise. His labor force consisted of Indian neophytes, and he apparently was a hard taskmaster. But he was also loved and respected, probably for the very discipline that he imposed, and the disintegration of Indian culture after the secularization of the Missions was good evidence that the influence of the padres was beneficial. Today, of course, Zalvidea could never have gotten away with his management techniques. He would have been faced with sit-downs, strikes, and a picket line, together with loud demands for a thirty-hour week. But in that case, San Gabriel probably would not have been the richest of the missions.

In any case, Zalvidea built the Old Mill. When I helped Dr. Robert Cleland write the history of El Molino, we were pretty sure when he built it, and the date we selected from our research was 1816. I understand Father Maynard Geiger, who is with us today, questions this date, and would place it considerably later, so that whereas I concluded that the Mill had had about seven years of actual use, Father Geiger's dating would give it a useful life of only a few months. I have not had time either to reresearch my data, or to argue with Father Geiger, and the matter must therefore be left at this time with the conclusion that historians seldom agree about anything anyway, and in any case, seven years or seven months, the mill had a short useful life because the grain got wet in the process of grinding.

Zalvidea built the mill, made San Gabriel prosperous, and lived to see the missions taken over by the state. He died in 1846, as a new flag was on the point of being raised over California.

The next man I want to bring to your attention is James Waite, the man who seized the Old Mill. Upon secularization, the property upon which the Mill stands was purchased by William Workman and Hugo Reid, both of them worthy of biographical sketches. But they have



been written about and talked about at great length, and I am sure most of you here know them well.

When the United States conquered California, title deeds came under question, and the Mill and its lands appeared to be open to whatever squatter came along. One did, and he was a very interesting person. He settled in the Old Mill in 1850 and four years later bought the *Los Angeles Star*, a leading local newspaper. He used his newspaper, as all editors do, to promote his own political party—"the only party that ever has been, or can be, of benefit to the human race," as he put it. In this case it was the Democrats, but the same terminology has certainly been applied to all other parties at one time or another. Waite moved boldly and was an enterprising individual. He worked up a scheme to organize clubs among his readers for the purpose of selling them money-making formulas. He engaged in violent brawls, in print, with competing journals and editors, to the point where his own sheet was once defined by a competitor as a "festering exhalation," and he openly published lists of people who owed him money in the pious hope that it would hasten their return to solvency. He also became postmaster of Los Angeles for a time, and finally sold the *Star*, the Mill, and his Southern California interests to move, first to San Bernardino, and later to Santa Cruz.

Waite sold the Old Mill to a medical doctor, Thomas J. White, who with his family brought social distinction to El Molino. However, by this time the Old Mill and its lands were deeply enmeshed in the litigation which followed the establishment of the Land Commission which was supposed to investigate and clear titles to California lands after acquisition by the United States. The suit was basically between the heirs and legatees of Workman and Reid, who had bought the lands from the Mexican government, and Waite and his assignees, and finally, in 1861, after many years of bureaucratic delay, the latter won. When Dr. White deeded the Old Mill to his daughter, Fannie J. Kewen, in 1860, therefore, no one contested her title, and the Mill passed into the hands of a family who used it, lived in it, and loved it.

Colonel Edward J. C. Kewen, Fannie's husband, was a dashing Mississippian, who was at times a soldier of fortune under William Walker, an active politician, a fire-eating orator in the style of Patrick Henry, and occasionally a poet. While he was engaging in all these activities,

he industriously improved the Old Mill, and made it into a comfortable home and a place of beauty. During the Civil War he "tangled with the Feds," because of his outspoken Confederate sympathies, and got briefly sent up the river to Alcatraz. This short time in the *calabozo* seemed to make him more, rather than less, politically acceptable, and he was immediately elected to the state legislature. During his absence in Sacramento, he turned occupancy of the Old Mill over to a family named Humphreys, who not only beautified it and wrote about it in the person of Rebecca Humphreys Turner, but also entertained in it and thoroughly enjoyed it. Unfortunately, when Kewen returned, he lost the property to John Edward Hollenbeck, through a slight error in judgment in which he borrowed \$20,000 at 1 per cent per month.

We have some examples of Kewen's political orations, and they are floridly fantastic. They are difficult to quote without turning up the public address system, and so I shall not try. However, an example of his verbal fireworks occurred when he became entangled in a feud with J. J. Warner, another prominent Southern Californian. Kewen, referring to Warner, said, "Pardon is for men, not for reptiles. . . . Things like him must sting, and higher beings suffer. . . . 'Twas the worm's nature, and some men are worms in soul, more than the living things of the tombs." Warner, not to be outdone, remarked that a "slanderer should be met at every street corner by the lash and chased into the wilderness to live among the howling wolves." You can see why Kewen was sent to Sacramento by confident voters.

Hollenbeck was another leading citizen of early Los Angeles, but one who had been a merchant and resident of Honduras and Nicaragua when William Walker, the filibuster, was there, and who lost his home and property in consequence of the invasion. One can imagine his personal satisfaction, after many years, of having Colonel Kewen, one of the *filibusteros* who had earlier ruined him, at his legal mercy.

In 1881 Hollenbeck sold the Mill to Edward L. Mayberry, and Mayberry turned it into a bunkhouse for his ranch employees. In 1903 Henry Huntington bought El Molino, and as an adjunct to the golf course surrounding the Huntington Hotel, which he financed, re-furnished the Old Mill as a club lounge. In 1927 the Huntington heirs conveyed the Old Mill to Mrs. James R. Brehm, who had been Henry Huntington's daughter-in-law. Mrs. Brehm employed Frederick

Ruppel, the architect we mentioned earlier, to restore the building with deliberation and care. In 1962 on the death of Mr. Brehm, the Old Mill was deeded to the city of San Marino with the provision that it be used as a historical monument, and today the California Historical Society, in co-operation with the city of San Marino, is taking steps to follow the terms of this generous bequest.

There are other stories about the Old Mill which we will not have time to tell—stories of buried treasures, of how General George S. Patton, a neighbor, helped to locate the old grinding wheels; of the actress, Mia Kewen Marvin, who viewed her former family home in a romantic glow. And there is another story of how the Mill was restored, using the skills and techniques and methods of the padres. But we have given you a taste of its past, and now again it quite clearly has a future.

In the words of Robert Cleland,

In its attractive, hill-sheltered setting, the Old Mill stands today as it has stood these hundred and (some) years, a notable and lasting monument to the engineering skill and architectural ability of the sons of St. Francis, and to their faith and sacrifices as well. Around it linger the memories of many diverse and contrasting generations.

It is El Molino Viejo, the Old Mill of Mission San Gabriel. Its good, stout walls have sheltered men of many creeds and kinds—friars and neophytes, rancheros and paisanos, editors and politicians, immigrants and financiers, indigents and sportsmen. They have heard the melancholy verse of a soldier of fortune and the tales of William Walker's filibuster raids. They have seen comedy and tragedy, birth and death, festival and mourning. A vanquished, irrecoverable age has given them its benediction of tranquility and peace. They have endured earthquake and storm, sun and rain, vandalism and neglect. Today, in a world of confusion, uncertainty, and fear, they stand as a symbol of things not temporal but eternal—a pledge and promise of the ancient but half-forgotten truth that if a man build in integrity and faith his handiwork will somehow survive the ruin of the years.

## NEW BOOKS

*The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805.* Edited and with an introduction by Ernest Staples Osgood. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964. 335 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by Howard A. Fleming.

In the annals of American exploration there was never a better-documented expedition than that of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Spurred on by explicit instructions from President Jefferson, separate journals were maintained by the two captains and by no less than seven of the enlisted men. Indeed, the journal of Sergeant Patrick Gass, first published in 1807, had gone through several editions before the official journal appeared in 1814 as *The History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*. This two-volume work, edited by Nicholas Biddle and Paul Allen, remained the standard account through most of the nineteenth century. It was reworked by Elliott Coues in 1893, and again in 1904 by John B. McMaster. In conjunction with the centennial of the expedition, Reuben Gold Thwaites in 1904-1905 prepared an eight-volume edition of *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, which included the full journals of the captains, as well as those of Sergeants Floyd and Whitehouse. At that time it was assumed that the journals of the other four enlisted men known to have kept them had disappeared forever; yet a few years later Milo Quaife discovered the diary of Sergeant Ordway, which was published in the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society in 1916.

Now Professor Osgood and the Yale University Press present the results of another significant and startling discovery. In 1953, in an attic in St. Paul, Minnesota, there was found a packet of rough notes in William Clark's handwriting. The packet was wrapped in a copy of the *National Intelligencer* dated 1805. It was among the effects of Civil War General John Henry Hammond, who had died in 1890 and who had had no apparent connection with Clark. Forty years after Clark's death Hammond served briefly with the western Indian Bureau, and conceivably might have acquired the packet at that time, although there is no evidence to support such a belief. Indeed, there is no evidence that the general or his family even knew of the existence of the Clark papers, and how they came to be among his effects remains a mystery still. After a tangled legal dispute over ownership, the documents were acquired by Frederick W. Beinecke, wealthy benefactor of the Yale Collection of Western Americana. Dr. Osgood, who had already identified the papers as field notes from which Clark prepared his formal journal, then edited them for publication. The generosity of Mr. Beinecke permitted the Yale Press to supplement the printed version with facsimiles of each of the documents in a handsome full-folio volume.

The sixty-seven separate leaves are closely written on both sides. They range in size from mere scraps to folio sheets. In one instance a large sheet has been



produced by pasting small pieces together. Almost all the entries are in Clark's hand, although a few are by Lewis, and one is apparently by Sergeant Whitehouse. Together they form a diary of the expedition from the arrival at Camp Dubois opposite the mouth of the Missouri, December 13, 1803, until the beginning of construction of Ft. Mandan in early November 1804. A few scattered entries follow during the winter of 1804-1805, with a final entry dated April 3, 1805, just four days before the keelboat was sent back to St. Louis. As evidence in the documents shows, the keelboat's cargo included the packet of field notes, addressed to Clark's brother, General Jonathan Clark of Kentucky.

The freshest, and historically the most significant of the field notes are the twelve documents from the winter of 1803-1804 when under Clark's command the expedition was making its preparations at Camp Dubois. No other journal is known to have survived from this period. Until now, historians have had only a few letters and incidental references upon which to draw. Clark's notes present an intimate and human description of the activities of the expedition while still in contact with the Mississippi valley frontier. In large part the command was already living off the country, for game was abundant in the vicinity of the camp. There are running accounts of the success of the hunters, who during the winter brought in deer, rabbits, grouse, turkey, swans, badgers, raccoons, squirrels, and even a hog, although the latter proved to be the property of a Frenchman to whom Clark had to make amends. The diet was varied with the catfish which swarmed in the river and with honey from beettrees raided by the men.

Clark's command was composed primarily of tough Kentucky and Tennessee backwoodsmen, none of whom seems to have belonged to the temperance society. The captain repeatedly complains of the drunkenness of the men, and it is a little sad to know that such later heroes of the expedition as Coulter and Ordway were drunk on New Year's eve! Nonetheless, it is apparent that Clark was gradually disciplining his cadre and that his pride in them was growing. He faithfully recorded their exploits in shooting contests. On April 28 he writes that "Several Country men Came to Win my mens money, in doing So lost all they had, with them;" and again on May 6: "Several of the Countrey people In Camp Shooting with the party all git beet and lose their money." Clark's spelling and grammar have rules of their own, but the remarkable orthography contributes to the charm of the field notes. In time it seems natural that mosquitoes should be "musquetors" and that atmosphere should be "atmuspier."

The major business at Dubois was preparation for the coming journey. Many of the notes are simply long lists of provisions, the flour, parched corn, pork, whiskey, trade goods and other items to be carried along, complete with prices and names of suppliers. There are also Clark's conjectures on what lay ahead. The January 20 entry includes a bit of wishful thinking: "From Dubois to the Manden Nation 1500 miles at 10 Mls pr Day will be 150 days Viz: May June, July Augt & Sept. . ." He grossly underestimated the distance from the Mandans to the watershed of the "Rock" mountains as nine hundred miles. It is actually

fifteen hundred. His guess of nineteen months for the round trip is very close to the 562 travel days, but far from the actual elapsed time of twenty-nine months.

Those familiar with the *Journals* will find the field notes of the voyage up the Missouri less exciting than the Dubois documents, if only because the story is so familiar. However, there are occasional bits of information that have not previously been known. For example, the field notes contain the only account of the speeches of the Oto and Missouri chiefs at the August council, and details of Sgt. Floyd's illness seem to confirm the previous speculation that his death was due to appendicitis.

Professor Osgood and his staff have done exceptionally fine editorial work. Deciphering Clark's handwriting poses problems ably overcome, although some readers studying the facsimilies, may want to change a letter here or there, or assign a different meaning to some obscure abbreviation. Throughout the printed text marginal footnotes collate the field notes with the previously published *Journals*, identify flora, fauna, and geographical locations, or painstakingly examine apparent inconsistencies in the text. The only major fault of the entire volume is its incomprehensible failure to include a detailed modern map, something the reader must supply for himself if he is to follow the progress of the expedition.

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*Mission Santa Barbara, 1782-1965.* By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. (Santa Barbara: Franciscan Fathers of California, 1965. 285 pp. \$8.00.) Reviewed by John Hawgood.

In this work of piety and scholarship Father Maynard Geiger follows up his more popular *Pictorial History of Mission Santa Babara* with a book which updates and supplements in many ways, but does not entirely replace Father Zephyrin Engelhardt's four-volume *opus* on *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1908-1915) and his shorter *Santa Barbara Mission* (San Francisco, 1923). Father Geiger acknowledges his debt to Engelhardt in many places; but he has put a tremendous amount of additional research into his new history of the mission, where he has resided for more than thirty-one years and of which he is now the archivist, and the result is both interesting to the general reader and valuable to the scholar. Father Geiger writes in an easy—one might almost say a cozy—style and brings alive again in his pages the people who lived in and guided the destinies of the mission since its foundation in 1786, just four years after the establishment of Santa Barbara's Presidio. Men such as Durán and González Rubio, and many both before and after them, are vividly portrayed.

The amusing and moving story of "the benevolent kidnapping of González

Rubio" (Chapter XXVIII) by the whole civil population of Santa Barbara in 1855, when he was ordered to return to his College at Zacatecas in Mexico, which had elected him its guardian, is told by Father Geiger with copious quotations from the contemporary eye-witness account published in *El Clamor Público* of Los Angeles, on February 9, 1856; and Pablo de la Guerra as well as González Rubio himself are also quoted. The beloved Father was, as a result of this demonstration, permitted by his superiors to remain in California for the rest of his life. Archbishop Alemany (whose biography by Father John B. McGloin has recently appeared), who had arrived in 1850 to be the prelate of California, lent sympathetic aid to this popular movement, for he regarded González Rubio as indispensable. After the death of Durán in 1846, González Rubio had not only borne the brunt of directing the affairs of the Santa Barbara Mission but also (until 1850) of the whole Roman Catholic Church in California during a period of unusual stress and of transition following the completion of Mexico's secularisation policy and during the period of American military government and of the establishment of the new state's civil constitution. He emerges in Father Geiger's story as a man who did almost as much for his church and his order in California as did Junípero Serra himself.

Although it could no more be expected of Father Geiger to write an unsympathetic history of Santa Barbara Mission than of A. L. Rowse to deal in a hostile manner with the Churchill family or a member of the Politburo in good standing to produce a debunking biography of V. I. Lenin, this is by no means an uncritical book. The Indian revolt of 1824, for instance, is analysed dispassionately, and blame distributed on the Fathers as well as on the civil and military authorities. The account of the process of secularisation, though presented as a tragic happening, both of the Franciscans and for their Indian wards, does not consist, by any means, of one long complaint. Father Geiger does not go so far as Dr. Manuel Servín in presenting the Franciscan Missions in California as already in decay before secularisation began, but he does concede that already before 1833, and even before 1820, all was not well with all of them. Father Durán himself admitted to Governor Figueroa in 1833 that Santa Barbara Mission was one of those most "fit for secularisation," though he envisaged this as taking place by stages and not in the crude way that the Mexican Law of Secularisation of August 14, 1833, was to prescribe. The secularisation of Mission Santa Barbara, as described in detail by Father Geiger, reminds one at many points of the dissolution of the monasteries in England carried out in the sixteenth century by Henry VIII and his minion Thomas Cromwell. The same worldly considerations and motives of greed were present; but there were some abuses in their administration that had made the California Missions vulnerable. Perhaps their greatest crime was that they were attempting to stand pat in a changing world. They were also too rich in lands and laborers not to be envied and lusted after. The inventory of 1835 assessed the value of the Mission Santa Barbara establishments (exclusive of the church) at 113,960 pesos and 7½ reales,

a very considerable sum for those days. Father Durán's relations with the native California Governor, J. B. Alvarado, were uneasy, and there was even some friction between him and the first Bishop of the Californias, García Diego, who took up his residence in the Santa Barbara Mission, perhaps in too close proximity to Durán for their mutual comfort, in 1842. This friction did not end until Durán and García Diego died, within a month of each other, on May 1 and June 1, 1846. It was the end of an era, not only for Mission Santa Barbara but for the missions as a whole, and indeed for all California. On June 13 the Bear Party of rough-necks was to storm into Sonoma, and on July 7 Commodore Sloat was to run up the Stars and Stripes at Monterey.

Under American rule the Missions were eventually reprieved, but their dissolution had gone too far for their original functions to be re-established. They lived on as parish churches, and seminaries, and as retreats for the diminished numbers of Franciscan Fathers who remained. In the twentieth century they have achieved a renaissance as historical monuments, visited by hundreds of thousands of tourists, many (perhaps most) of them non-Catholics. Mission Santa Barbara, rebuilt several times (the last time as recently as 1956-1958) is now the grandest of them all, buttressed by the munificence of the Max C. Fleischmann Foundation of Nevada—but it is a far cry from the tiny, primitive compound of 1786. Father Geiger's devoted and well-documented book enables us to follow the mission's development step by step from those beginnings to the present day.

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*Exploration of Alaska, 1865-1900.* By Morgan B. Sherwood. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965. 207 pp. \$6.50.) Reviewed by Charles W. Snell.

Sherwood has written an important and excellent book on a phase of history that has previously been little exploited, namely—the American exploration of Alaska. Russian and English explorers by the 1840's had generally mapped the coastal waters of Alaska, but as late as 1884 the vast heartland of Alaska was still virtually unknown territory.

This task of exploring the interior of Alaska was at least equal in danger and difficulty to the oft-told tale of exploration of the Trans-Mississippi West. For in size Alaska is equal to one-fifth of the continental United States and access to its interior is guarded by huge mountains ranging up to twenty thousand feet in elevation. This northern region also has more rigorous winters and shorter summers than the western United States. Here, too, are found thickly wooded valleys, miles of swamps, plains, and wild rivers; and its people, the vigorous and warlike Eskimos and Indians, had never been conquered by the Russians.

Although the author does not neglect to tell a good story when the occasion



merits it, this is not primarily a tale of romantic adventure, but rather careful study of how our geographical, historical, ethnological, and scientific knowledge of Alaska was gradually acquired during the latter part of the 19th century. The book concentrates on a study of the men who performed these tasks, summarizing their adventures, and examining in detail their motives and those of the institutions which sponsored and made possible this exploration. In this process Sherwood introduces a roster of the great and near-great, as well as a few scoundrels, many of whom will probably be new to most readers. Among the great are William H. Dall, the dean of the Alaska experts, whose interesting book, *Alaska and its Resources*, first published in 1870, has all but been forgotten; the mysterious and romantic Ivan Petroff, the writer responsible for most of Hubert H. Bancroft's great *History of Alaska* (San Francisco, 1886), and the taker of the first U.S. census in Alaska (1880); and Henry T. Allen of the U.S. Army, whose fifteen hundred mile exploration of the Copper, Tanana, and Koyukuk rivers in the summer of 1885 has been ranked by some with the Lewis and Clark expedition. Among the near-great might be mentioned the naturalist John Muir, whose writings stimulated American interest in Alaska and whose 1879 newspaper report on the probable location of mineral resources in Southeastern Alaska resulted in that territory's first gold rush to the Douglas-Juneau area in 1880-81; and Alfred H. Brooks, chief of the U.S. Geological Survey's Alaska Branch.

Contrary to most modern historians of Alaska, who have concentrated largely on what might have been done economically for Alaska and also on its political struggle for self-government, Sherwood has a good word for the federal government, finding that the "Exploration of the Far-Northwest in the period 1865-1900 was an achievement of the federal government almost exclusively. Nearly every significant exploration was accomplished by a federal agency, and the government assisted others"

This well-written book is based on careful research, has numerous and well-drawn maps, forty-one well-chosen contemporary photographs and prints of the Alaskan explorers and scenes, and a very fine index. The proof reader also deserves credit for the correct spelling of the many difficult geographical Alaskan place-names in which the book abounds.

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*Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817.* By Richard A. Pierce. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965. 245 pp. \$5.50.) Reviewed by Michael Mathes.

The history of Russian imperialism has, during the past twenty years, become the subject of increased research, as has the history of Hawaii with her coming to statehood. As the title of Professor Pierce's work, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817*, denotes, the book under consideration here combines both of these topics.

Hawaii during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century emerged from the status of being a little known group of islands to that of a center of supply for the rapidly growing trans-Pacific trade from the Pacific Northwest to Canton and Macao. During this period of trade development, international rivalry between declining Spain and the rapidly expanding Great Britain, United States, and Russia reached a high point. Spain helplessly watched her hegemony in the Pacific succumb to traders from London, Boston, and Sitka.

The British, American, and Russian traders in the Pacific were far from being genteel businessmen, but were ruthless, self-reliant pioneers seeking the highest profits with little thought as to the means used in attaining them. Professor Pierce's work discusses, through the use of documents, one phase of Russia's advance into the Pacific under one of these pioneers, Doctor Georg Anton Schäffer of the Russian-American Company.

Schäffer was not the first Russian agent to visit Hawaii. With her rapid expansion across the Bering Sea into Alaska and northern California, Russia found a growing need for supplies for her arctic and subarctic outposts. In 1804 the Krusenstern around-the-world expedition called at Hawaii and returned with reports favorable to the supply needs of the Russian-American Company. Krusenstern also found Hawaii in a state of civil war between Kamehameha of the Island of Hawaii and Kaumualii of the Island of Kauai, a situation which would lend itself to Russian intervention. In 1807 Kamehameha requested aid from Alexander Baranov, manager of the Russian-American Company in Sitka, thus opening the door for Russia.

Complying with Kamehameha's request, Baranov sent Captain L. A. Hagemeister with a shipload of supplies to be traded for sandalwood. In 1808 Hagemeister returned to Sitka with plans for possible colonization in Hawaii, but it was not until 1814, when Captain James Bennett in the Russian ship *Bering* was wrecked at Kauai, that these plans were put into effect.

Baranov, desirous of the return of the *Bering's* cargo, in early 1815 decided to send his new friend, Doctor Schäffer, former surgeon of the Lazarev expedition, to Hawaii. Sailing from Sitka in October of that year, Schäffer was to secure Kamehameha's aid in recovering the *Bering* and in establishing a Russian trade monopoly, in this he was to be reinforced by Captain I. A. Poduskin.

Initially successful in his dealings with Kamehameha, Schäffer was soon the subject of intrigue and rumor put forth by British and American traders. Thus, in May of 1816 Schäffer went to Kauai where he was cordially received by Kaumualii and rapidly gained royal favor to the extent of securing Russian sovereignty over the island as well as trade monopolies and land grants. Most of Schäffer's success may be attributed to Kaumualii's desire to gain Russian aid for the conquest of Hawaii, but as the year progressed these hopes steadily declined, and by the spring of 1817 Schäffer was *persona non grata* in Kauai.

The subject of Anglo-American intrigue and a lack of support from Baranov, Schäffer sailed from Hawaii in the summer of 1817 for Macao, and eventually Russia. Upon his return to St. Petersburg, Schäffer attempted, in vain, to gain the support of Emperor Alexander I for the continuation of his enterprise. Russia was, however, following a policy of peaceful expansion, and by 1820 plans for supply from northern California had made Hawaii unnecessary to the Russian-American Company. In 1821 Schäffer sailed to Brazil where he gained favor with Emperor Pedro I, colonized some Germans, and died in 1836.

This interesting story of intrigue is told in detail in Professor Pierce's introduction, and is supported by sixty-three well-ordered and well-translated documents which have been compiled from the Alphonse Pinart Collection in the Bancroft Library and the Russian-American Company Journals of Correspondence in the National Archives. Published for the first time in English, these documents include diaries, treaties, memorials, and letters and are well indexed by descriptive entries of persons, ships, and places. A partially annotated bibliography of items related directly to the text as well as general accounts of early nineteenth century Pacific voyages are included, as are endpaper maps.

Nicely printed by the University of California Press, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure* fills a gap in the literature of the Pacific Basin and should be of interest to the historian, general reader, and collector of Californiana.

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*Log of a Twentieth Century Cowboy.* By Daniel G. Moore. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1965. 217 pp. \$6.00.) Reviewed by Owen Ulph.

It is usually conceded that the cowboy's days of high grass were over before the turn of the century. While fences, plow-pushers, and railroads put an end to the trail drives, cowhands and cow-horses continued to find plenty of work to keep them busy on western ranges until quite recent times. Trail drives, complete with stampede and the swimming of Red River at flood stage, make spectacular films but, in actuality, constituted the most monotonous phase of cow punching. Anyone who has harried the drags of a cumbersome herd, not for several weeks, but for as short as stretch as a single day, will acknowledge the truth of this statement. Spring and fall roundups, cutting, roping, calf-flanking, brush-popping, and a score of routine tasks are the challenging and exacting ones. Moreover, they persisted long after trail drives had become history. These are the aspects of the craft which Dan Moore describes in his *Log of a Twentieth Century Cowboy*.

The title, unfortunately, invites comparison with its illustrious antecedent, *Log of a Cowboy*, sired by Andy Adams in 1903. Adam's book, deceptive in its simplicity, was, nevertheless, imaginative, poetic and philosophically profound—in short, a shrewdly conceived work of art. Dan Moore's book is, at best, an un-

inspired memoir—a document which gains little from amateurish embroidery. Where Adam's work has universal appeal, Moore's will interest only the *aficionado*. The collector of western lore will certainly want to add it to his shelf because the author, though lean on literary talent, reveals himself as an authentic cowhand with a genuine feeling for the richness of life in the saddle and a considerable knowledge of ranches, ranchers, and ranching in the southwest—particularly Arizona—during the past fifty years.

It is difficult, after reading the *Log*, to shuck off the impression that Dan Moore is that unwholesome specimen, a cowhand-turned-respectable. The University of Arizona Press, of course, can hardly be expected to publish the ribald reminiscences of some range-Rabelais, but the tedious narrations of boyish drinking and carousing, an occasional limp use of de-horned vernacular, and some labored attempts at salty wit are far removed from the picaresque, infidel humor of Andy Adams. This impression is strengthened by a chapter entitled "Range Detective" in which J. Edgar Moore sprouts wings and gives a none-too-savory account of his adventures staking small-scale rustlers to a paid seven-to-fourteen-year sojourn at Florence. One passage deserves quoting. Moore has alerted the sheriff and his deputies to be ready to pick up a couple of sticky ropers who had been occasionally butchering some cattle king's surplus calves to feed their aged "Grandpa." He arrests the culprits who are genuinely surprised because Moore had been enjoying their humble hospitality for several days while spying on them. Naturally, they ask: "*Who* in hell are you?"

"Just your old partner, 'the ranger,'" Moore replies, "and this here pistol I'm pointing at you says I am the calliope behind this parade, and the parade is headed for the bridge where the spectators are waiting to see the elephants. Now get going, and remember Old Betsy here has a hair trigger."

Such pungent prose makes the reader wonder if cow-poke Dan spent his years of retirement from corral dust confusing himself with the paperback heroes of gunsmoke epics. At any rate, his role as a desert decoy is one that would never give any self-respecting cowboy callouses on his tongue. The Virginian, it is true, hanged his rustler friend, Steve. But that is precisely what was wrong with the Virginian who was, at heart, a *pliersman*. Even Will James spoke a good word for the rustler—often an independent individualist waging a losing battle against corporate land barons. But we better drop this iron before it gets too hot to hold.

Dan Moore gets his best lather up in his concluding chapter, "Thirty Years Later." Even though he lets out just enough slack to satisfy the prejudices of stone-age Republicans, he leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that the cowboy is a lamented creature of the past, and that the horse and the cow provided more pleasing adornments to the western landscape than pickup campers and house-trailers. The *Log of the Twentieth Century Cowboy* is probably worth its feed bill.

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*The West of William H. Ashley. The International Struggle for the Fur Trade of the Missouri, the Rocky Mountains, and the Columbia, with Explorations Beyond the Continental Divide, Recorded in the Diaries and Letters of William H. Ashley and His Contemporaries, 1822-1838.* Edited by Dale L. Morgan. (Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1963. 341 pp. \$35.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

This is a monumental work. It is an uncommon monument to the American fur trade era and that era's leading figure, William Henry Ashley. As a book, it is a testament to American typographic art. But these conclusions are obvious when one first lays eyes on the large folio-sized volume. And one could quickly reach an equally obvious conclusion by scanning the two introductions and the voluminous notes—it would appear to be a scholarly work. The partially sophisticated reader could easily, then, in a matter of minutes summarily judge the worth of *The West of William H. Ashley*: this is a beautiful, scholarly book of monumental proportions.

With this, the more sophisticated reader would not disagree. However, the better informed reader would be intimately familiar with the name of Ashley. Its mere mention would provoke a litany of names that would blaze across the memory: Missouri, Rocky Mountains, Yellowstone, Great Salt Lake, Jackson's Hole; Arikaras, Blackfeet, Cheyenne; Jedediah Smith, William Sublette, Thomas Fitzpatrick, James Clyman, Peter Skene Ogden; William Clark, Henry Leavenworth, Henry Atkinson. The enormous panorama of the exploration and exploitation of the trans-Mississippi West before the advent of the overland immigrant would be painted as if conjured by a sorcerer. In an instant the name Ashley would recall the epic of the mountain men. And rightly so for Ashley shaped that adventuresome era by his boldness, shrewdness, faith, and vision.

In the book's first introduction the knowledgeable reader will find a cameo biography of Ashley that is finely chiseled. From his first partnership with Andrew Henry in 1822 until his death in 1838, one can trace Ashley's career against the canvas of the Western fur trade. His humble Virginia beginnings and his meteoric rise in Missouri as a miner, land speculator, trapper-trader, merchant prince; his political and military activities from justice of the peace to Congressman, militia captain to brigadier general are succinctly chronicled. The second introduction provides a compact summary of the fur trade prior to 1822 which is a *tour de force* in its comprehensive brevity.

Morgan's objective is clearly stated in his title. His success in achievement is stunning. He has scoured every possible manuscript depository and publication available to ferret out and collect the pertinent and significant; he has plowed through endless runs of newspapers to locate items to be found nowhere else; he has read through unmeasured bundles of faded manuscripts to find each documentary nugget. Like an alchemist, he has enriched this vast body of source material by interweaving his own commentaries to give the collection greater

texture and dimension. Like Parsifal in quest of the Holy Grail, Morgan has searched far and wide to find information with which to illuminate the documents: his textual annotations testify to his skill, knowledge, and patience; they are a storehouse of information which will nourish generations of scholars to come.

The documents are presented in two parts. The first book, "The Bloody Missouri," charts Ashley's debut and early trade experiences, culminating in his 1823 defeat high up the Missouri at the Arikara villages. That disaster forced Ashley to seek another land route to the fur fields. The second book, "Beyond the Continental Divide," unfolds Ashley's exploration contributions, the key document being his 1825 diary; his shift from field trapper to resident trader, from entrepreneur to national lobbyist for the Western fur trade. The steady focus throughout is on Ashley and his business associates, with additional material from other interested parties being woven into the documentary fabric.

For the specialist, this book is a godsend. Its appearance will no doubt reap a harvest of new studies and provide fodder for new interpretations. But the specialist will regret several oversights. He will be disappointed that so few Hudson's Bay Company documents (and there are many which relate directly to Ashley's West) are included. But perhaps that's another documentary study. Assuredly, the specialist will be frustrated by the absence of a calendar of the documents published and a bibliography. These two omissions will prove a continuing handicap in making use of this fur trade treasure trove.

The sophisticated reader will not be taken aback by the scholarship reflected in this book. The editor's name, Dale L. Morgan, will trigger a mental shuffling of bibliographical cards: his published credentials are impressive. In the past five years he has been firmly established as an editor who must be accorded rank on any list of great historical editors. If he has not achieved undisputed election to that august assembly, this volume should dispel any and all remaining reservations, for in this prodigious work Morgan has crowned his scholarship with a book that will never be replaced; a book that will ever be in use; a book that all will have to consult in reading, writing, studying, and understanding the history of the American fur trade in the West.

Happily, Morgan's brilliant editorial achievement has found in Lawton Kennedy a master artist and craftsman who designed and printed this handsome volume, a volume endowed with a splendid map and appropriate illustrations. The publisher, Fred A. Rosenstock, is to be heartily applauded for wedding such distinguished scholarship with such magnificent printing.

There will be critics; reluctantly, this reviewer among them. Two fundamental objections must be raised: the book is too big for convenient use; the price is prohibitive. These criticisms are *prima facie*. The book is too big—one practically needs a lectern to use it. This is a serious practical defect. But more. The price is prohibitive—the very people for whom it was intended will not be able to afford it, not only the student and scholar, but the small public and college library as

well. And yet here is an indispensable work that should be within easy reach on more library shelves, whether public or private. While one can only cheer the combined talents of Morgan and Kennedy, this reviewer can not help but comment that he feels that the work was monumental enough in its scholarship without having to be monumental in size and price.

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The first recipient of the Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award was Carl I. Wheat, shown here receiving the medal from Director Donald C. Biggs on September 28, 1959. (At left, seated, George L. Harding, then President of the Society.) Carl I. Wheat was honored for the excellence of the first two volumes of his then-projected five-volume work, *The Mapping of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1540-1861*. (The work was completed in 1963.)

## In Memoriam

CARL IRVING WHEAT

1892-1966

CARL IRVING WHEAT was born in Holliston, Massachusetts, December 5, 1892, the son of Frank Irving and Catherine Isabel (Pierce) Wheat. In 1898 his parents moved to San Francisco, where his father was pastor of Park Congregational Church. Three years later they removed to Garvanza, between Los Angeles and Pasadena. Carl attended Occidental Academy and graduated from Pomona College, Claremont, in 1915, with a Phi Beta Kappa key and a bachelor's degree cum laude. After almost two years in France with the American Ambulance Service, he attended Harvard University Law School, graduating in 1920. In 1959 he was given the honorary degree of LL.D. by Pomona College. He married Helen Millsbaugh on September 22, 1919. He died at his home in Menlo Park, California, on June 23, 1966, leaving his widow and two fine sons: Francis Millsbaugh, an attorney in Washington, D.C., and Richard Pierce, a doctor practicing in Los Altos, California.

Carl was admitted to the California Bar in 1920 and started practice in Los Angeles, but soon joined the legal staff of the Railroad Commission of California, serving as its chief counsel 1924-1929. Thereafter he returned to private practice in San Francisco. From 1933 to 1936 he was public utilities counsel for the city of Los Angeles, and from 1936 to 1938 counsel with the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, D.C. He then returned to private practice with offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles, specializing in the public utility field. From this developed the firm of Wheat, May & Shannon, the Washington office of which became his headquarters. This is a brief, factual summary of his professional career.

In the introduction to his *Books of the California Gold Rush* (San Francisco, 1949), Carl wrote: "These are rich diggings in which he who would delve deeper will always find new placers to explore, new nuggets to cherish and admire." His nonprofessional life—the side of Carl's life that the membership of our Society knew so well—was a demonstration of the truth of this statement.

Soon after coming to San Francisco, in 1922, Carl became acquainted with Henry R. Wagner, then living in Berkeley, who soon had him working—and playing—in the field of California history, in which he was to dig deeper and deeper as the years went by.

He became a member of the California Historical Society in November 1924, and a director of the Society and a member of its Publication Committee in January 1926. In the autumn of 1927 he became chairman of that committee, thereby becoming editor of the Society's *Quarterly* with the issue for December 1927 (Volume IV, No. 4). He retained this post through the following six volumes, but gave it up when he joined the legal staff of the city of Los Angeles in 1933. Soon he became active in the Historical Society of Southern California and contributed an article to its *Annual Publication* for 1934. The next year he became a director of that Society and editor of its publications and immediately put its publication on a quarterly schedule, which it has followed to this day. When he removed to Washington, D.C., in 1936, he relinquished the editorship.

Until his final illness, he never ceased to edit and write in the field of California and western history. A check list, *The Published Writings of Carl Irving Wheat* (San Francisco, 1960) presented to him at a meeting of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco on April 11, 1960, lists 116 titles, ranging from contributions to the student paper at Pomona College in 1912 to his great and monumental 1540-1861, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, in five large volumes (San Francisco, 1957-1963). For the latter work he was awarded the Henry R. Wagner Memorial Medal by the California Historical Society in September 1959. He had been made a Fellow of the Society in January of that year.

Aided and abetted by his friends Gustav Epstein, Samuel T. Farquhar, and Harold A. Small, Carl summoned approximately twenty-five men to a dinner at the Plaza Hotel, San Francisco, on April 3, 1928. The call to the meeting, finely printed by John J. Johnck, was entitled "Roxburghe Redivivus." Those who

came to the dinner were congenial, bibliophilic spirits interested in typography, literature and history, and from this gathering came The Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, of which Carl served as Master of the Press (president) until he moved to Los Angeles. This Club thrives to this day.

While editor of this Society's *Quarterly* our subject had learned of "that noted and notorious fraternal order of the mining era—*E Clampus Vitus*." "It was along in the Spring of the year 1930," he wrote in *The Enigmatic Book of Vitus* (Yerba Buena: Hall of Comparative Ovations, 1934) "that there dawned upon the minds of two men of high C.Q. (Californiosity Quotient) . . . that this noble fragment of the past needed only a bit of polish and a few libations . . . to revive the old times and let the light of *E Clampus Vitus* once more shine out over the world." Those with the high C.Q.s were Leon Whitsell and Carl himself. But let him continue: "The one day . . . [he] cornered G. (signifying Geehosopha) Ezra Dane on the road from Columbia to Parrott's Ferry, and drew from that worthy an agreement to do all the dirty work necessary for this great revival. A few months later, in the year 1931, at a lunchroom in Yerba Buena, kept by Colonel Clift, *E Clampus Vitus* was reborn . . ." Soon after that, Adam Lee More, the last Noble Grand Humbug of Balaam Lodge No. 107,304, of Sierra (pronounced Sigh-era) City was found and installed as Clampatriarch of Chapter Redivivus No. 1, of Yerba Buena, and the revival was on! When Carl moved to Southern California, Platrix No. 2, Pueblo of Los Angeles, was formed. The Ancient and Honorable Order of E Clampus Vitus, under the banner of its motto, *Credo Quia Absurdum!*, has marched on until today some twenty chapters, throughout California and Nevada, extend their philanthropy to "the widows and orphans, but more particularly to the widows," and the "Grand Council of Venerable Clampatriarchs" meets in annual session at Murphys each May.

Perhaps these words of appreciation may be fittingly concluded by quoting from his friend Leon Whitsell:

" . . . my beloved brethren, when the Heavenly Hewgag sounds and you have crossed the Dark River and are resting in the shade of the trees on the other side, may you hear that familiar word so fraught with significance to every true and loyal Clamper—

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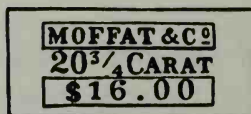
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A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stagecoaches  
and the Pony Express

*By* W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

The Pre-World War II Mexican-American

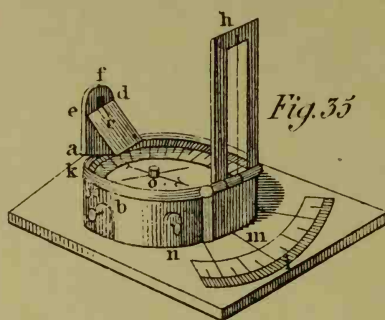
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The *California Historical Society Quarterly* is published quarterly, in March, June, September, and December. Subscription price \$15.00 per year payable as part of annual membership fee. Second-class postage paid at Pasadena, California. Contents copyrighted, 1966, by the California Historical Society. Office of publication: El Molino Viejo, 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, California 91108.

Postmaster: Send 3579 to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109

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## STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. *Date of Filing*: Sept. 30, 1966. 2. *Title of Publication*: CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY. 3. *Frequency of Issue*: Quarterly. 4. *Location of Known Office of Publication*: 1120 Old Mill Road, San Marino, Los Angeles County, California 91108. 5. *Location of Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publishers*: 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109. 6. *Publisher*: California Historical Society. *Editor*: Manuel P. Servin. *Managing Editor*: None. 7. *Owner*: California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109. 8. *Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or more of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or other Securities*: None. 9. None. 10. A) *Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)* Average during preceding 12 months, 4392; Single issue nearest to filing date, June. B) *Paid Circulation Sales*: Average during the Preceding 12 months, 136; Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date, 50. *Paid Mail Subscriptions*, 4200 Average During Preceding 12 Months; Single Issue nearest to Filing Date, 4148. C) *Total Paid Circulation*: Average During the Preceding 12 Months, 4336; Single Issue Nearest to Filing Date, 4198. D) *Free Distribution*: Average for 12 Months 50; Single Issue Nearest Filing Date, 30. E) *Total Distribution*: Average for 12 Months, 4386; Single Issue Nearest Filing Date, 4228. F) *Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled after Printing*: Average for Twelve months, 6; Single Issue Nearest Filing Date, 164. G) *Total*: Average for 12 Months, 4392; Single Issue Nearest Filing Date, 4392.

The Quarterly is distributed to members only. Extra copies and back numbers may be purchased at two dollars per copy (plus fifteen cents for handling) with the exception of certain numbers which are very scarce or out of print.

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# A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stage-coaches and the Pony Express

By W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

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"THE STORY OF Wells, Fargo Express Company is one of the most thrilling, most fascinating in the whole range of American history. Its contribution to the building of the West was incalculable, and the men who created and operated the business rank with the greatest organizers and promoters the country has produced. The measure of praise due them is exceedingly large."<sup>1</sup> This appraisal is universally accepted by the historians of western America. In fact, the tribute was penned by a well-known writer who has been distressed by what appears to him to be an exaggeration of the role played by Wells, Fargo & Co. in western transportation, specifically in connection with stagecoach and pony express operations, and one not likely to exaggerate the company's importance.

Wells, Fargo & Co. was established as a joint stock association in New York in March, 1852, chiefly to take advantage of the business opportunities in California. Within two months the company had completed its organization whereby gold dust, bullion, specie, mails, packages and freight of all description could be conveyed between the eastern seaboard and San Francisco, thence to and from the mining towns and camps of California.<sup>2</sup> Business got under way in California in July, 1852.<sup>3</sup> In addition to running its own daily expresses, the company made contracts with other express organizations to carry Wells Fargo packages. This was a temporary expedient. Before the year was out the

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W. TURRENTINE JACKSON, a doctoral graduate of the University of Texas, is professor of history at the University of California, Davis. A distinguished scholar in the history of the American West, Dr. Jackson has been both a Guggenheim and Fulbright Fellow, has published numerous articles and scholarly monographs, and has been the recipient of an American Historical Association award for his *Wagons Roads West*.

company had launched a program for purchasing every express line in California that could be bought, including the stages they operated and their banking business.<sup>4</sup> In less than two years the company had purchased three rival express companies and made contracts with the formidable California Stage Company to accept and deliver treasure and packages south into Los Angeles and north into Oregon. Upon the failure of Adams and Company of California in 1855, Wells, Fargo & Co. attained supremacy in the express field. The number of packages received by Wells Fargo in San Francisco was twice the combined total handled by its two closest competitors.<sup>5</sup>

Buildings housing the company agencies were established in the important towns of California, a practice not inaugurated by other express lines. Thus, all stages coming and going pulled up to the Wells Fargo offices and came to be identified in the public mind as "Wells Fargo stages" even before the company was directly concerned with stagecoach operation. These offices became the center of the town's activities and often were among the most impressive structures in the mining camp. Wells Fargo very early perceived that the nature of the express business was such that substantial operating economies and the ability to render effective service would accrue to a firm with facilities to operate over many routes and serve a large region. By 1855 the firm had fifty-five offices. The number regularly increased in the next five years and by 1860 there were one hundred and forty-seven.<sup>6</sup> Professor Oscar O. Winther, after carefully examining the evidence, concluded, "In fact, so efficiently did the company operate that by 1860 there was apparently no other important express company in the state. Wells, Fargo and Company had by 1860 acquired a monopoly of the express business of California."<sup>7</sup>

From the outset, Wells, Fargo & Co., as a joint stock association, was engaged not only in the express business but also in banking. Separate departments were organized for each function within the company. San Francisco business directories repeatedly announced that the company were "bankers and exchange dealers" and one early advertisement emphasized the banking function:

Gold Dust and Gold and Silver Coin and Bullion, bought and sold /  
Deposits Received, Collections and Remittances promptly made /  
Sight Exchange for Sale.<sup>8</sup>



The company made significant profits from the traffic in gold dust. According to one authority, the dust sold for ten dollars an ounce at the mines in 1849 and for sixteen dollars in 1852; at the United States Mint the price was eighteen dollars.<sup>9</sup> From the purchase and sale of gold dust the company inevitably became more involved in general banking, receiving money on deposit, making collections, issuing bills of exchange in favor of payees in eastern cities to whom the customers in the mining camps wished to remit, and taking the responsibility for the execution, recording, and delivery of valuable business documents.<sup>10</sup> Two classes of deposits developed: general deposits which the company was privileged to use and special deposits, consisting of separate bags of gold which were weighed, sealed, and stored away for the depositor and could not be used by the company. This service cost the depositor one per cent per month. The vigorous banking operations of Wells, Fargo & Co. between 1852-1855 are revealed in newspapers, magazines, and business directories within the state.<sup>11</sup>

The company's reputation for reliability, strength, and sound operation was greatly enhanced when it weathered the financial crisis of 1855 while competitors in the express and banking fields failed. More emphasis was now placed upon the banking function, and the express and banking departments issued separate advertisements to appear simultaneously in various city directories.<sup>12</sup> The growth of the company had been phenomenal. Within the first year capital was increased from \$300,000 to \$500,000. Once the business crisis was passed in May, 1855, the capital stock was further increased to \$600,000. In November, 1859, the Board of Directors by a unanimous vote authorized a further increase of capital stock to \$1,000,000.

The company also prospered from the outset. On March 1, 1854, an initial dividend of ten per cent was paid and in September an additional five per cent, making fifteen per cent for the year. In 1855, the annual dividend was ten per cent, but the shareholders received no payment in 1856. Beginning in 1857 annual dividends of ten per cent were paid. Profits during the Civil War years were the greatest of all time. The practice was inaugurated in 1861 of paying a regular quarterly cash dividend of three per cent, a total of better than twelve per cent for each war year except 1864 when only nine per cent was distributed. A special cash dividend of ten per cent was distributed in 1865, making a

total of twenty-two per cent for that year. Furthermore, in 1863 a forty-two per cent stock dividend was paid out of the surplus, and in November of that year a stock dividend of one hundred per cent was declared by the Board raising the company capital to \$2,000,000.<sup>13</sup>

Stagecoaches were of course one of the major means employed by Wells, Fargo & Co. in forwarding express parcels and the gold dust and valuable documents associated with its banking business, but the extent to which the company owned and operated stagelines of its own has come to be the subject of intense controversy. A large part of the general public at the time undoubtedly assumed that Wells Fargo owned the stagelines carrying the company's treasure and express in cases when the lines were actually owned and operated by others. Recently one concerned student bluntly asserted: "Prior to 1864 it [Wells, Fargo & Co.] was engaged exclusively in the express and banking business. Not having any stagecoaches of its own, Wells Fargo relied upon the Pioneer Stage Line, the California Stage Company, and others for its California business. Shipments of express packages to the East went over the Overland Mail line, and gold was generally transported by sea."<sup>14</sup> In referring to the periods both before and after 1864 a more vigorous partisan has categorically stated on many occasions, "It now is a cold historic fact that Wells Fargo never owned or operated a stage line at any time in the State of California."<sup>15</sup>

Such critics have become so emotionally involved over the omnipresent Wells Fargo image, accepted by untold numbers of American people through the years, associating the company name with early western steamship lines, pony express lines, stagecoaches, treasure chests and road agents, that they have failed to understand the way that Wells, Fargo & Co. operated as a business enterprise. In the field of staging Wells Fargo extended its financial interest and control over other stage and mail companies, both in California and throughout the West, with the consistent goal of facilitating and strengthening its banking and express business in the most profitable manner. The evidence presented in this study will indicate how both time and circumstance determined the arrangements sought by Wells, Fargo & Co. On occasions the company purchased the business and properties of a competitor outright, dissolved the competing enterprise, and assimilated its operations. This was the case in the purchase of the Todd and Company Ex-

press in September, 1853, and Hunter and Company in July, 1854.<sup>16</sup> At other times, Wells, Fargo & Co. secured a controlling financial interest in a company, thereafter permitting the company to operate stages under its original name, but with the Wells, Fargo & Co. directors determining policy and its stockholders sharing in the profits. Wells Fargo also purchased stage companies and became the sole owner and operator sometimes under its own name and at others retaining the name of the subsidiary.

An example of the confusion, or dispute, hinges on the relationship between Wells, Fargo & Co. and The Overland Mail Company. Prior to 1866 a significant amount of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s participation in staging west of Salt Lake and in California, as well as the company's relationship to the trans-Missouri Pony Express, was handled through The Overland Mail Company. The latter company, as is well known, was formed as a joint stock association in 1857 by men who had a substantial financial and managerial interest in one or more of the four major express companies—American, National, Adams, and Wells Fargo. Historians have long referred to Wells, Fargo & Co. "interests" in stage and pony express operations through The Overland Mail Company, but some have insisted "the same degree of credit and consideration must be given the other three companies." One has stated:

... if the "interests" claim is admitted, then all four companies must be equally credited with not only operating the Pony Express on the western half of the line, but also for the stage coach, express, and passenger business on the same route. Once embarked on this line of reasoning, it is impossible to stop short of laying claim to credit for the whole line ...<sup>17</sup>

Then comes the attack upon those who regard Wells Fargo as the controlling factor in The Overland Mail. "Support for this argument is so frail, so lacking in actual historical qualities, so obviously exaggerated that one wonders how any one possessed of loyalty to historical truth could predicate general conclusions and sweeping statements upon it."<sup>18</sup> This is strong language.

First it should be mentioned that there has never been any secret as to the strong community of interest among three of the four major express companies. The American Express Company had been formed in 1850 by a combination of three companies: Livingston, Fargo and Company; Wells & Co.; and Butterfield and Wasson.<sup>19</sup> The leading

spirits in the American Express Company were Henry Wells, who was its president for the first seventeen years of its existence—which covers The Overland Mail period—and William G. Fargo, who succeeded Wells as president in 1867.<sup>20</sup> In 1852 Wells and Fargo were eager to have American Express Company extend its operations into California, but Butterfield and two other directors were opposed. It was at this time that Messrs. Wells and Fargo, not wishing to pass by the opportunities they saw developing in the West, drew in some outside capital and formed a new joint stock company, Wells, Fargo & Co., to enter the lists in California. Wells and Fargo continued their energetic interest in both American Express Company and Wells, Fargo & Co. The two companies worked closely together establishing respective spheres of operation whereby the territory east of the Missouri River was allocated to American Express and that west of the river to Wells, Fargo & Co.<sup>21</sup> At the time of creation of The Overland Mail Company, the third of its four organizing groups, the National Express Company, was under the presidency of Danford N. Barney who at various times was on the Boards of Directors of American Express Company, Wells, Fargo & Co., and The Overland Mail Company and who served as President of Wells Fargo from 1854 to 1865. Adams Express Company, the fourth of the companies interested in The Overland Mail Company, had two years earlier withdrawn from both banking and express operations in California. Like American and National Expresses, its operations in 1861 were in the East. It seems quite natural that Wells, Fargo & Co., the only one of the four express companies operating in the trans-Missouri West, would have the greatest continuing concern for the success of The Overland Mail Company.

Recently the author located the Minute Book of The Overland Mail Company in New York City and in this manuscript record the relationship between this firm and Wells, Fargo & Co. is clearly revealed. There were twenty founders' shares in The Overland Mail Company organized in New York with a capital of \$2,000,000. Of these, seven shares were held by men who were directors or large investors in Wells, Fargo & Co. The Articles of Association of The Overland Mail Company were drawn up by James McKay, the Secretary and General Counsel for Wells, Fargo & Co. Four of the ten directors of The Overland Mail Company were also directors in Wells Fargo. Thus, there is conclusive



evidence that even at the inception of the company an "interlocking directorate" existed between the two enterprises.<sup>22</sup>

From the beginning, Wells, Fargo & Co. served as the "banker" for The Overland Mail Company in the Far West making loans on an unsecured basis for the development of the mail enterprise. When M. L. Kinyon, a director, was appointed to go to California to work out the route for the mail line from that state to the Rio Grande River, to make contracts, and hire employees, Wells, Fargo & Co. was requested to advance the necessary funds. On November 20, 1857, the directors of The Overland Mail Company voted to redeem any advances made to Kinyon in connection with his assignment up to \$5,000 with the usual commissions.<sup>23</sup> On January 1, 1858, the full amount had been loaned.<sup>24</sup> In May the finance committee of The Overland Mail Company was authorized to arrange with Wells, Fargo & Co. for advancing on the drafts made by agents in California.<sup>25</sup> Six months later over \$17,000 had been loaned and the amount continued to rise month after month.<sup>26</sup> In March, 1859, John Butterfield was authorized to borrow \$25,000 from Wells, Fargo & Co. for the uses of the mail company.<sup>27</sup>

In December, 1855, Louis McLane had been named general manager of Wells, Fargo & Co. in California. As soon as The Overland Mail Company started running stages on the "oxbow" route from St. Louis and Memphis, via El Paso, to Los Angeles and San Francisco, McLane also assumed the responsibility for looking after the California affairs of that company. The record is explicit. The Board of The Overland Mail Company resolved on February 16, 1858:

That Mr. Barney [a director] be instructed to advise Mr. McLane of California that the report of Mr. Kinyon has been received & meets the approval of the board—further that he be requested to continue to interest himself in the affairs of the Company and to act for them in California and that they will endeavor hereafter to arrange matters between him and the Company to his satisfaction as they mature their plans.<sup>28</sup>

A list of shareholders in The Overland Mail Company prepared in November, 1858, reveals that the three largest shareholders, next to Butterfield, were all directors of Wells, Fargo & Co. Two other large Wells Fargo shareholders were among the eleven men who had purchased as many as one thousand shares in the mail company, a total of five out of eleven.<sup>29</sup>

LeRoy R. Hafen in his classic study, *The Overland Mail*, has revealed that conflicts in Congress during 1859 resulted in failure to pass the annual Post Office Appropriation bill. The President refused to call a special session to authorize payments on mail contracts and the Post Office Department, in turn, was unable to make payments to The Overland Mail Company for services rendered.<sup>30</sup> To keep the company going, a new series of borrowings were entered into from both Wells Fargo and Adams Express Company. In contrast to earlier loans by Wells Fargo, these were payable from amounts owed to the Overland Company by the Post Office Department under contract for mail transported. Initially the advances by Adams against specific mail payments were additionally secured by endorsement of individual directors of the Overland and later by pledge of stock of Adams and United States Express. Wells Fargo remained the major risk-taker.<sup>31</sup>

As a result of the Overland Company's mounting indebtedness to Wells Fargo and policy differences with John Butterfield, Wells Fargo became increasingly dissatisfied with the Overland Mail Company situation. This duly found its way into the Minutes of the latter company. In August, 1859, Messrs. D. N. Barney and E. P. Williams, Wells Fargo directors, expressed concern in a Board meeting of The Overland Mail Company about the management and excessive expenditures of the latter company.<sup>32</sup> Three months later, "Mr. Barney stated the terms on which the advances by Wells Fargo & Co. were made, expressing some feeling at the remarks, which had reached his ears relative to these terms."<sup>33</sup> Matters came to a crisis on Saturday, March 17, 1860, when "The Board met pursuant to adjournment and at the request of Mr. Barney, assembled at the office of Wells Fargo & Co 82 BWay." After the treasurer had given his report, "Mr. D. N. Barney stated, that Wells, Fargo & Co had made large advances to The Overland Mail Co. and now asks that the Board of Directors take steps to secure them for such advances. *On which subject the Board occupied themselves many hours.*" In the end the Board adjourned for the weekend.<sup>34</sup> When the directors assembled at 10:00 A.M. Monday, William G. Fargo offered the following resolution.

Whereas the Overland Mail Company are indebted to Wells Fargo & Co in the sum of \$162400 One Hundred & Sixty two thousand four hundred 00/00 dollars for advances heretofore made by them to said Overland Mail Co. and whereas

at Washington was given that the taking the interest would not affect our claims for damages, for in any event what we should get would be by a Law of Congress, changing the present one, as as to allow no damages, and it will be as easy to get this Law passed after we have received the interest, as otherwise.

The subject was laid over until Mr Dinamore should be present. Mr Fargo offered the following Resolution.

Whereas the Overland Mail Company are indebted to Wells Fargo & Co in the sum of \$162,400 One hundred & Sixty two thousand four hundred <sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Dollars for advances heretofore made by them to said Overland Mail Co., and Whereas it may hereafter become necessary to enable said last mentioned Co to carry on its business, that said Wells Fargo & Co should make still further advances, Now therefore, for the purpose of securing said Wells Fargo & Co the payment of the money so advanced, and that may hereafter be advanced.

Resolved, that the Overland Mail Co do hereby assign to said Wells Fargo & Co all its horses, mules, harnesses, stagecoaches, wagons, and other property and effects now owned by it, and being on its several mail lines, as well Overland, as other lines. And the officers of the Company are hereby authorized and directed, to cause to be made and presented, a proper assignment in accordance with this resolution.

Seconded by C. Williams. a vote was called, and

Mr Patterson left the Chair, protesting against this step. The motion adjourned to meet to-morrow the 20th inst, at 10 AM

(signed) Johnston Livingston  
Secty, Overland

it may hereafter become necessary to enable said last mentioned Co. to carry on its business, that said Wells Fargo & Co. should make still further advances. Now therefore, for the purpose of securing said Wells Fargo & Co the payment of the money advanced, and that may hereafter be advanced.

Resolved, that the Overland Mail Co do hereby assign to said Wells Fargo & Co, all its Horses, Mules, Harnesses, stage Coaches, Waggons, and other property effects now owned by it, and being on its several mail lines, as well Overland, as side Lines, and the officers of this Company are hereby authorized and directed, to cause to be made, and executed, a proper legal assignment in accordance with this resolution.<sup>35</sup>

This motion was seconded by E. P. Williams and a vote called when Butterfield, the President, left the chair, protesting the action. When he vacated the chair it was no longer possible to transact business so the meeting was adjourned to meet the following day, March 20, at 10:00 A.M. At the appointed time there were not enough directors present to make the quorum necessary to conduct business. William G. Fargo moved an adjournment until 11:30 A.M. to reconvene at the office of Wells, Fargo & Co. At that time an additional director arrived. As soon as Barney took the chair, the preamble to Fargo's resolution stating the necessity for securing the express company loans was read and approved. Immediately thereafter the resolution whereby Wells, Fargo & Co. would have taken over all the assets of The Overland Mail Company was withdrawn and the secretary directed to write "withdrawn" across the face of it.<sup>36</sup> In the intervening hours a compromise had been worked out. The directors of The Overland Mail Company who also represented Wells Fargo interests had agreed that the latter company would withdraw its foreclosure action provided changes were made in the Board of Directors and John Butterfield removed as President of The Overland Mail Company. Before this session adjourned, a vacancy was declared on the Board of The Overland Mail Company and filled by B. P. Cheney, a large stockholder in Wells, Fargo & Co. The general superintendent of the mail company was also replaced. Following these activities, the Board proceeded to the election of the President and when the votes were counted William B. Dinsmore had received six votes, John Butterfield one. Thus, the "Wells Fargo and Company interests" had succeeded in ousting Butterfield from the presidency.<sup>37</sup> He was not even given an opportunity to resign, as is generally stated by historians. Moreover, it is quite clear that while William B. Dins-



more was from Adams Express, he had been elevated in The Overland Mail Company at the instance of the directors with Wells Fargo connections and that he was well aware that he was responsible to them in matters of company policy. Not until April 27, 1860, did John Butterfield again appear at a meeting of the Board and take his seat.<sup>38</sup>

The San Francisco *Bulletin* of April 30, 1860, revealed the main outline of developments to the public:

... We hear nothing more of a Pony Express by the Butterfield route, and I expect the idea is abandoned. Rumor tells of a serious diversions in the councils of the Company, which story seems to be confirmed by the retirement of Mr. Butterfield from the Presidency, to make room for Mr. Dinsmore, formerly of Adams. It is understood here that the Overland Mail contract is now under the control of Wells, Fargo & Co. who have been making large advances to keep up the line during the year past, when no money could be obtained from the Department, because of the failure of the Postoffice appropriation bill. The precise cause of the recent difficulties in the Company is not ascertained; but it is supposed to have grown out of opposition to Mr. Butterfield's earnest desire to start a horse express over the road, in competition with Russell & Majors. His associates did not consider such an enterprise desirable, as the distance is so much greater on the Southern route, that it would be impossible to compete with the Salt Lake route, in good weather.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, from the inception of The Overland Mail Company the businessmen who were associated with Wells, Fargo & Co. had a greater financial stake and managerial responsibility in the mail company than those of the other three express companies sponsoring the enterprise. By March, 1860, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s substantial influence over policy and personnel decisions of The Overland Mail Company had become a dominant one. This fact is of utmost importance in understanding one aspect of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s participation in stagecoach and pony express operations in western America and in California.

When M. L. Kinyon arrived in California during the winter of 1857-1858 he had purchased a one-half interest in the stage route and property of Charles McLaughlin between Fort Yuma, Arizona, and San Francisco and named McLaughlin superintendent of the line with headquarters in Los Angeles. This so-called Coast Line was operated as a joint proprietorship, but Charles McLaughlin's name continued to be associated with it in the public press because of his splendid reputation as a stager.<sup>40</sup> This arrangement continued until August 9, 1859, when

the partnership between McLaughlin and The Overland Mail Company was dissolved. However, McLaughlin, as sole proprietor, obtained a contract to carry the Overland Company mail from San Francisco to Gilroy. It is quite clear, as one instance of Wells Fargo's indirect involvement with stagelines, that from the time The Overland Mail Company initiated operations in California until August, 1859, that company, sustained by Wells, Fargo & Co. funds, owned and operated stages in California. Louis McLane, who operated stages in California that competed with the lines of McLaughlin, complained about the nature of the latter's contract and, upon his recommendation as general manager of both Wells, Fargo & Co. and The Overland Mail Company, the latter company on December 30, 1859, bought all of McLaughlin's equipment on the line between San Francisco and San Jose along with his mail contract. Moreover, McLaughlin agreed to charge identical rates on his line between Oakland and San Jose as that charged by The Overland Mail Company between San Francisco and San Jose. McLaughlin also had a contract to carry the mail between San Francisco and Monterey but he agreed that the overland line could carry the mail from San Francisco all the way to Gilroy, provided they paid him for the mileage between San Francisco and Monterey. At one point in the contractual discussions, Butterfield had moved that since superintendents and agents of the company were incurring large obligations in the purchase and sale of stagelines that none should do so without direct authorization of the Board. Fargo inquired as to what lines the company was running other than the overland mail. The President replied that there were four including the daily line from San Francisco to San Jose and Gilroy using twenty-three teams. The staging operations of The Overland Mail Company in California are made crystal clear in the company records and it is quite obvious that the influence of Wells, Fargo & Co. and its agent were sufficient to see that contracts were not signed by the mail company that prejudiced in any way the business operation of the express and banking concern.<sup>41</sup>

If one is prepared to accept the position that control of the majority of shares in a corporate enterprise in addition to the creation of an interlocking directorate involving a majority of the Board of Directors constitutes the power to "own, manage, and operate," then one of the cases in which Wells, Fargo & Co. did so, where stages were concerned

in California, Nevada, and Utah, was through the Overland Mail Company. On March 2, 1861, Congress passed a law providing for a daily overland mail on the Central Route and a semi-weekly Pony Express, the compensation for the joint undertaking to be \$1,000,000 a year.<sup>42</sup> Russell, Majors and Waddell, partners in the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, who had once hoped to obtain a daily overland mail contract on the central route were not in a position at this time to undertake the expanded financial responsibility. The Overland Mail Company was the only serious contender for the Overland Mail Contract of 1861. The first two weeks of March, 1861, were taken up in working out the details with the Contract Office of the Post Office Department. Daily mail service, six times a week, was to be maintained between St. Joseph, Missouri, or Atchison, Kansas, and Placerville, California. In addition, the mails were to be delivered three times a week each way into Denver, Colorado, and Salt Lake City, Utah. The company also signed a contract to deliver the mails between Monterey and San Diego. There were to be three trips a week as far as Los Angeles and once a week on horseback into San Diego.<sup>43</sup>

Just as soon as the contract with The Overland Mail Company for the entire route had been signed at the Post Office, another contract was signed between William B. Dinsmore, representing the holders of the contract, and William H. Russell of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company whereby the latter company was permitted to participate in the mail service. In general, the agreement provided for a division of the route whereby the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express would provide the service from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City, connecting there with The Overland Mail Company stages which would carry the mail and passengers over the western portion of the route to California. Interested historians should examine the details of this contract in the William B. Waddell Papers located in The Huntington Library. Roy S. Bloss has done so, and he suggests that it is quite plain that the financial fabric of The Overland Mail Company "was largely woven with skeins of Wells, Fargo yarn."<sup>44</sup> This is illustrated by the fact that The Overland Mail Company reserved the right in the Seventh Section of this March 16, 1861, contract to make an exclusive agreement with Wells, Fargo & Co. to handle all express business coming from the East to points west of

Salt Lake City and all express business originating in the West that was headed East. Moreover The Overland Mail Company had the government contract both for staging and pony express operations and detailed provisions to be elaborated shortly clearly indicate that the mail company was in such a dominant position that it could grant concessions, insist on control of operations, and even invoke penalties upon the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. No comparable provisions ran in the other direction, and the contract of March 16, 1861, was not an agreement between equals.<sup>45</sup>

At a meeting of The Overland Mail Company on June 5, 1861, it had been agreed that some 600 horses would be placed on the road between Salt Lake City and Carson City, together with 25 stagecoaches, 25 drivers and 12 conductors, plus station keepers and stock tenders, a total of nearly 150 men. As a result of Wells, Fargo & Co. influence, a contract was negotiated with the Pioneer Stage Company in August-September to operate the stages for mails and passengers west of Carson City, via Virginia City, to Placerville, the end of the route under the 1861 law. Louis McLane and Company had a controlling interest in the Pioneer Stage Company and Louis McLane, it will be recalled, was general manager for both Wells, Fargo & Co. and The Overland Mail Company in California.<sup>46</sup>

Further evidence that Wells, Fargo & Co. was heavily involved in staging operations in California is found in its relationship with the Pioneer Stage Company. Numerous historians have asserted that Louis McLane sold the Pioneer Stage Company to Wells, Fargo & Co. in 1861.<sup>47</sup> No such contract of sale bearing an 1861 date is recorded in minutes of the Board of Directors. Not until July, 1864, did the Board of Wells, Fargo & Co. begin consideration of a proposition of Louis McLane to sell his company.<sup>48</sup> On December 15, 1864, the following action was recorded in the Minute Book of the Board:

On motion of Mr. Morgan & Seconded by Mr. Fargo

Resolved, that the purchase by DNBarney, Prest., of the "Pioneer Stage Company" in California for the sum of One Hundred & Seventy Five thousand dollars (\$175,000) payable in gold in San Francisco, be & the same is hereby approved, passed unanimously.<sup>49</sup>

One interested individual has questioned the purchase of the Pioneer Stage Company because advertisements of that company continued to



New York Dec. 15. 1864  
82 Broadway

The Board met this day - present Messrs  
D. N. Barney, Fargo, Cheney, Morgan  
& H. Barney & Stockwell.

The minutes of the last  
three meetings were read & approved

On Motion of Mr Morgan &  
Seconded by Mr Cheney Resolved, that  
an extra Cash dividend of ten dollars  
(\$10) per share be & the same is hereby  
declared, payable to the Shareholders of  
this Company on the 16th January next,  
& that the transfer books of the Company be  
closed on the 1st of Jan'y at 3 O'clock PM  
the same again opened on the 16th Jan'y  
at 10 O'clock Am. passed

On Motion of Mr Morgan &  
Seconded by Mr Fargo Resolved, that the  
purchase by D. N. Barney, Pres't, of the  
"Pioneer Stage Company" in California  
for the sum of One Hundred & Seventy five  
thousand dollars (\$175,000) payable in  
gold in San Francisco, be & the same  
is hereby approved, passed unanimously.

On Motion of Mr Fargo &  
Seconded by Mr Morgan Resolved, that  
the President of this Company with Mr  
Cheney, be & are hereby appointed a

appear in California newspapers, particularly in Placerville, as late as 1868.<sup>50</sup> In line with its practice of operating purchased stage companies by any arrangement that appeared most likely to be advantageous, Wells, Fargo & Co. elected to operate the Pioneer Stage Company as a subsidiary firm. In this case there were at least two reasons for doing so. The Pioneer Company had a reputation for being one of the best equipped and most effectively run in California. Moreover, Wells, Fargo & Co. needed to use the services of stage companies elsewhere in California to transact its express and banking business, like the California Stage Company and the Pacific Stage and Express Company, which were competitors of the Pioneer Stage Company on the routes across the Sierra to western Nevada. If the Pioneer Stage Company became known as Wells, Fargo & Co., the latter firm would be running in competition to firms carrying its express and treasure shipments elsewhere in the state. It was not feasible nor good business. Positive proof of the decision to operate the Pioneer Stage Company as a subsidiary is found in the General Cash Books of the San Francisco Office of Wells, Fargo & Co. The account of the Pioneer Stage Company listed separately in these books reflected a consistent increase of business but no unusual change in the monthly disbursements to the stageline after its purchase in 1864.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, the Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells Fargo reveals its close supervision of the operation of the stage line. The Board issued instructions concerning the operation of the stages from western Nevada into Sacramento, California. It also received and evaluated reports forwarded by the company agent in California, Louis McLane.<sup>52</sup>

As a result of new mail contracts in 1864, The Overland Mail Company no longer had official responsibility for the entire line west of St. Joseph, Missouri, but only the western section from Salt Lake where it had previously been operating stages. Ben Holladay controlled the eastern portion of the route, having taken it over in 1862 from the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company which had become heavily indebted to him under mortgage of most of the company's stock, equipment, and tangible assets. On November 1, 1866, there was a "grand consolidation" of the Holladay interests, The Overland Mail Company, Wells, Fargo & Co. and other express companies into one giant enterprise controlling all transportation and mail facilities west of

the Missouri River. While the consolidation was effected under Holladay's Colorado charter, the Wells, Fargo & Co. name was retained because of that company's dominant financial position in the consolidation. Holladay, although for a time retaining a directorship, was paid off largely in cash. Wells Fargo shareholders retained fifty-nine per cent of the shares in the consolidation, and those interested in The Overland Mail Company had another fifteen per cent. As a result, six of the nine directors of the new Colorado corporation were men associated with the original Wells Fargo.

There is evidence that Wells Fargo had anticipated developments because two months prior to the date of the grand consolidation the company was running a "fast freight and passenger line" from Virginia City and Gold Hill, Nevada, into California.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, Wells, Fargo & Co. established a Stage Office in San Francisco to book passage on the overland route during 1866.<sup>54</sup> Certainly after November 1, 1866, Wells, Fargo & Co. was operating stagecoaches throughout the entire West on an elaborate scale. Brochures were issued announcing:

#### GREAT OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE

Pacific and Atlantic States

Wells, Fargo & Co.

Sole Proprietors

The stage business became so important that the company added a Stage Department to its organization in San Francisco comparable to that of the Express and Banking departments.<sup>55</sup> Orders for stagecoaches placed with Abbott Downing Company bearing the Wells, Fargo & Co. name were the largest of all time. One order for ten stages had scarcely been filled before an order was placed for thirty more to be finished identically as those of the first consignment.<sup>56</sup> These stages ran on the overland route in the trans-Missouri West, chiefly west of Salt Lake City. Passengers could book a through passage between Omaha, Nebraska, and Sacramento, California, and it seems unreasonable to contend that none of these Wells, Fargo & Co. stages ever ran on California roads.

As the transcontinental railroad was being constructed, 1867-1869, Wells, Fargo & Co. operated numerous mail and passenger routes from the railroad terminals into the towns of Idaho, Montana, Colorado, and

## Time from Sacramento to Omaha, 15 Days.

First class conveyances, careful and experienced drivers and attentive agents are employed, and every possible arrangement has been made for the comfort and safety of passengers.

The route passes through the celebrated silver regions of Nevada, the valley of Great Salt Lake, the beautiful scenery of the Rocky Mountains and the GREAT PLAINS, and is the cheapest and most expeditious route to the Atlantic States.

Good meals at reasonable prices will be furnished passengers at convenient distances.

Passengers may lay over at any home station and renew their journey whenever there are vacant seats in stages, by notifying the local agent immediately on arrival.

At Morrow's Station, the cars of the Union Pacific Railroad Company will afford direct communication with Railroads at Omaha for all Eastern cities and towns. Wells, Fargo & Co. are also sole proprietors of connecting Stage Lines at Salt Lake City, for the Mining regions of Montana and Idaho, and at Denver with the mining regions of Colorado.

Express packages taken to any of the above named points at low rates

Tickets may be purchased at the offices of Wells, Fargo & Co., on the route.

Persons desiring to secure passage for their friends in the States, can do so by making application to the Agents of the Company. No seat secured until paid for.

Twenty-five (25) pounds of baggage allowed each passenger, but they will not be permitted to carry valuables as baggage or extra baggage

For further particulars enquire at any of the offices of the Company on the line, or of

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.**

Stage Department, San Francisco.

San Francisco, April 1st, 1867.

13

## GREAT OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE.



PACIFIC AND ATLANTIC STATES.

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.**

SOLE PROPRIETORS.

## FARE REDUCED! TIME SHORTENED!

On and after the 1st day of April, 1867, passengers will be forwarded through at the following reduced rates, viz:

Sacramento to Omaha.....	\$236.
Virginia City to Omaha.....	275.
Austin to Omaha.....	225.
Sacramento to Cheyenne.....	250.
Virginia City to Cheyenne.....	225.
Austin to Denver.....	175.
Salt Lake to Bannock, Montana....	120.
" " " " " "	120.
" " " " " "	145.
Fort Benton.....	175.

ALL LEGAL TENDERS OR THEIR EQUIVALENT.

12

From the California Business Register, an advertising publication printed by Towne & Bacon, San Francisco. Issue of May, 1867.

Wells, Fargo & Co. advertisement as the "sole proprietors" of the Great Overland Mail Route from the Atlantic to the Pacific on which its stages ran.



Nevada. Post Office and company records reveal that in 1869 Wells, Fargo & Co. was operating stages on the following routes: the Smoky Hill line through Kansas into Colorado, and the Salt Lake-Corinne Line and the Corinne-Fort Benton Line that together connected the Mormon capital with the head of navigation on the Missouri River in Montana Territory. There was also a route between Cheyenne and Georgetown, Colorado; and another between the Nevada mining towns of Austin and Argenta.<sup>57</sup>

During 1868-1870 Wells, Fargo & Co. was also operating "express stage" lines out of Stockton into the camps in the Mother Lode country.<sup>58</sup> In September, 1870, a San Francisco newspaper noted, "Wells Fargo & Co. are compelled to put on extra coaches to accommodate persons bound for the California State Fair."<sup>59</sup> In summary, the evidence is overwhelming that Wells, Fargo & Co. did own, control, manage and operate stagecoach lines in California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho, and Montana at various times between 1857 and 1869.

Now to turn attention to the Pony Express. Every interested person recognizes that a major part of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s participation in the ownership, control, management and/or operation of the trans-Missouri Pony Express was through its relationship with The Overland Mail Company. First of all, it should be noted that historians often repeat the statement that the Pony Express never had official recognition or financial support from the federal government, but that it was a private business venture launched by Russell, Majors and Waddell in April, 1860. "It has often been said that the organization and operation of the Pony Express bankrupted Russell, Majors & Waddell," but according to Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, "This is not true, for the company was already overwhelmed with debt before it undertook the mail service."<sup>60</sup> The lack of government support may be a characteristic of the period of operation through the early months of 1861 when the founders were still in control, but at that time, as we have seen, the government signed a contract with The Overland Mail Company providing that a pony express be run "semi-weekly at a schedule time of ten days eight months and twelve days four months, carrying for the Government free of charge, five pounds of mail matter, with the liberty of charging the public for transportation of letters by said express not exceeding one dollar per half ounce."<sup>61</sup> Thus, the Pony Express operated by The Over-

land Mail Company was officially sanctioned and subsidized by the United States government.

Scholars resentful of the association of the Wells, Fargo & Co. name with the Pony Express have asserted, "In recent times much confusion and misunderstanding concerning the relationship of Wells, Fargo & Company to the original Pony Express in 1861 and afterward, has been created by writers, reporters, publicity agents, and motion picture producers to whom historical accuracy does not seem important. Officially it had none. . . . It has been said, and widely believed, that Wells, Fargo & Company operated the Pony Express from Sacramento to Salt Lake City during the last one third of its existence. It did nothing of the kind. That job was done by the Overland Mail Company in accordance with the contract between Russell and Dinsmore."<sup>62</sup> These same authors, in studying the Russell-Dinsmore contract of March 16, 1861, present the following evaluation: "The removal of The Overland Mail Company to the Central Route was not lacking in advantages to Russell and the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company. Under the contract, Dinsmore got that portion of the route which presented the greatest difficulties and paid the least profit. Indians had harassed it more or less almost from the beginning, and it lay through the most dreary, sparsely populated region on the Continent. When viewed from this angle, Russell got much the better of the bargain. His liabilities were materially reduced, his chances for profit multiplied, and with a backlog of \$470,000 per year as payment for carrying the mail, his prospects were decidedly improved."<sup>63</sup> Apparently the fact that The Overland Mail Company retained \$530,000 for operating the longer, more difficult western sector of the line has been conveniently overlooked. Moreover, although the through passenger and express business was to be divided equally between the two parties, Russell and his associates were to retain only seventy per cent of income from local passenger and express business east of Salt Lake and turn over thirty per cent to The Overland Mail Company whereas the latter were to retain all the income taken in on its portion of the line. In addition, a general superintendent appointed by The Overland Mail Company, but paid jointly by both parties, was to have "general charge and supervision of the eastern line" run by the Central Overland California "to see that the service is properly performed." The superintendent or authorized agent of The

Overland Mail Company had the right to examine the books of Russell and his partners, but the Russell group had no such right to examine The Overland Mail's books. Finally, The Overland Mail Company reserved the right to take possession of the entire stock and equipment of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company if necessary to maintain the service. There was also a provision for a penalty payment of \$100,000 to The Overland Mail Company if such an eventuality developed.<sup>64</sup>

Russell, Majors and Waddell were at this time pathetically insolvent. Furthermore, Russell was involved in a bond scandal, perhaps inadvertently, that undermined his reputation for integrity.<sup>65</sup> As soon as The Overland Mail Company had obtained the contract for the delivery of the mail both by stagecoach and Pony Express, Russell immediately began conversations about a joint operation in hopes of keeping his dream of the Pony Express alive and to bolster his declining financial position. In these contract negotiations Dinsmore was advised by a committee of three directors of Wells, Fargo & Co., Messrs. Barney, Cheney, and Fargo who also served on The Overland Mail Company Board, and they "used every effort to prevent any injury to the interests of your company."<sup>66</sup>

The provision concerning the Pony Express stated, "The receipt from the Pony Express to be divided equally, each party as in carrying the mail paying their own expenses on their divisions." Wells, Fargo & Co. directors and stockholders who had the controlling interest in The Overland Mail Company thereby became involved in the operation of the trans-Missouri Pony Express. Even so, some have insisted, "There is no record whatever that even The Overland Mail Company came into possession of the western half of it under the contract between Russell and Dinsmore. That company managed and operated the western section, but never owned it."<sup>67</sup>

Events between the signing of the March 16 contract and the July 1 date for the initiation of government sponsorship of the Pony Express are of importance. *The Daily Alta California* of May 8, 1861, announced, "Wells, Fargo and Co. have charge of the Pony Express henceforth until the first of July, when it becomes a portion of the great Daily Overland Mail arrangement, of which they are the managers on this side." The interest of Wells, Fargo & Co. in the enterprise was made clear.

The new style of Pony Express Envelopes with Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express mark upon the margin, bears a very elegant and tasteful design— . . . Since they took it in hand, the number of letters by Pony Express, coming this way, have largely increased, owing to their advertising it in all parts of the country in connection with their regular express.<sup>68</sup>

The following notice appeared in the Sacramento *Union* on May 16, 1861:

*Pony Express Notice*:—Orders having been received from W. H. Russell, President of the Express Company, I hereby transfer the office and everything pertaining thereto to Messrs. Wells Fargo & Co. All letters to be forwarded by Pony Express must be delivered at their office on Second Street, between J and K, Sacramento. J. W. Coleman, Agent Pony Express.<sup>69</sup>

Arthur Chapman suggests that this notice is evidence that Russell and his associates were eliminated from active management of the Pony Express before the government contract went into effect on July 1.<sup>70</sup> Others have suggested that Russell was still powerful and that he designated Wells Fargo and Company as "agents" with the suggestion that the position of agent was one of subservience. The following statement has been made:

The plain truth is that Wells Fargo Express Company was merely acting temporarily as agent for the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company during the interim between the passage of the bill providing for the removal of the Overland Mail Company to the Central Route and the first of July, a period of a few weeks. During that period Wells Fargo's duties and responsibilities were identical with those of other agents elsewhere—in St. Louis and Chicago, for instance, where activities consisted of handling express and passenger business, Pony Express letters, and carrying out instructions as agent from the company. Among those instructions was the reduction of Pony Express rates from \$5.00 to \$2.00 per ounce. Thus whatever praise is due anyone for this reduction must go not to the agent but to Russell, Majors and Waddell Company, who alone had the exclusive authority to make it.<sup>71</sup>

No primary evidence has been presented to support such assertions and the position can not be logically maintained. All one needs to do is to look at the comparative financial position of Russell and his associates and Wells, Fargo & Co. A dispatch from St. Louis on February 9, 1861, reveals clearly the lack of control that Russell, Majors & Waddell had over the Pony Express:



Since the discovery of the abstraction of bonds from the Interior Department, belonging to the Indian Trust Fund, the firm of Russell, Waddell & Majors have made assignment of all their assets, including the stock in the Pony Express Company.<sup>72</sup>

At the time of the Dinsmore-Russell contract of March 16, 1861, another contract was signed with Ben Holladay guaranteeing him an annual payment of \$30,000 from the income from the mail contract, apparently due to advances he had made earlier to Russell and his associates.<sup>73</sup> Holladay testified that shortly after this agreement between The Overland Mail Company and the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company, he made a contract with the latter firm to make advances and accept drafts from time to time. By July 1, 1861, the company owed him \$200,000 and it appears more than likely that he had a much greater voice in the affairs of this company in these months than Russell and his associates.<sup>74</sup>

During June, 1861, Wells, Fargo & Co. accelerated its advertising campaign clearly indicating the directness of its authority over the Pony Express after July 1 when The Overland Mail Company officially accepted responsibility for its operation. The editor of the *Sacramento Daily Union* commented:

By an advertisement published in one of the San Francisco papers, we perceive that the arrangement for a tri-weekly Pony Express, which was promised after the 1st of July, will not go into effect, but that the semi-weekly trips will be continued at present, with the postage of letters reduced to one dollar per half ounce. *Instructions were received by the last Express, from Wells, Fargo & Co., at New York, to make no addition to the service.* [Italics mine.] The intelligence will cause much disappointment to the citizens of California, who have been looking forward with pleasure to the near approach of the tri-weekly arrangement.<sup>75</sup>

The citizens of San Francisco were disappointed in not having Pony Express service between their city and Placerville which was the western terminus of The Overland Mail and the trans-Missouri Pony Express authorized by the Post Office Department. Wells, Fargo & Co. advertised that it would run a "private express" between San Francisco and Placerville "for the convenience of the citizens of San Francisco." The advertisement revealed the interrelationship between the two operations. Wells, Fargo & Co. notified patrons that its pony would make connections with The Overland Mail Company's Pony Express in

**EXPRESS.****WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S  
Express Notice.**

For the Steamer of July 1, 1861.



OUR NEXT REGULAR EXPRESS for the Atlantic States and Europe, will be dispatched, via Panama, per Pacific Mail Steamship Co.'s steamer

**ST. LOUIS,**

W. F. LAPIDGE..... COMMANDER,

**ON MONDAY..... JULY 1,**

AT 9 O'CLOCK, A. M.

TREASURE shipped at Reduced Rates, and INSURED under our own policies held with the best English Companies, viz :  
Londonderry Mutual Insurance Company ;  
Marine Insurance Company ;  
Royal Exchange Insurance Company ; and  
London Assurance Company.Treasure received for shipment until 12 o'clock on the night previous to the sailing of the steamer ; and small packages and parcels received until within one hour of the time of sailing.  
EXCHANGE drawn on most of the principal cities and towns in the Atlantic States.WELLS, FARGO & CO.,  
Farrott's Building, Montgomery street.

Je27

**Pony Express Notice,**

....FOR THE....

**Service Commencing July 1, 1861.****PLACERVILLE TO ST. JOSEPH.****THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY'S**  
"PONY EXPRESS" will be dispatched regularly FROM  
THE OFFICE OF THEIR AGENCY, AT PLACERVILLE,  
On the Arrival of the**EXPRESS LEAVING SAN FRANCISCO**  
**Wednesday and Saturday**

OF EACH WEEK.

ALL LETTERS must be enclosed in ten-cent Government  
Stamped Envelopes and prepaid, at the rate of one dollar for each  
half-ounce or any fraction thereof.**MESSRS. WELLS, FARGO & CO. HAVE**  
BEEN APPOINTED AGENTS, and letters will be received  
and delivered at their offices.**WILLIAM HUCKLEY,**  
Superintendent O. M. Co.

Je28 1/2

**Pony Express Notice,**

.....FOR THE.....

**Service Commencing July 1, 1861.****MESSRS. WELLS, FARGO & CO.**

WILL RUN A

**Pony Express**

....BETWEEN...

**SAN FRANCISCO AND PLACERVILLE,**

Regularly on

**Wednesday and Saturday,**

OF EACH WEEK.

Leaving their office at 3:45 P. M., on these days, and  
Connecting with the Overland Mail Company's  
Pony Express at Placerville.LETTERS MUST BE ENCLOSED IN OUR TWENTY  
CENT GOVERNMENT FRANKED ENVELOPES, and  
Charges FROM PLACERVILLE PREPAID AT THE RATE  
OF ONE DOLLAR FOR EACH HALF-OUNCE, OR ANY  
FRACTION THEREOF.All letters not enclosed as above will be charged at the  
rate of 25 cents each.

Je28 1/2

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.**

Courtesy of the California State Library

Wells, Fargo & Co.'s three advertisements in a single column of the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, June 28, 1861, p. 1, c. 6, indicating its interest in the trans-Missouri Pony Express and a connecting Pony Express line in California.

Placerville and did so in terms definitely conveying the impression that departure for the East depended upon the arrival of its privately-sponsored pony. Such pronouncements, or assurances, were another area in which Wells Fargo's strong voice was manifest in the policy and operations of the Pony Express. Statements guaranteeing to make connections would not have been tolerated from an "agent" acting under supervision.<sup>76</sup> The editor of the *Union* went further when he suggested that Louis McLane, the principal agent of Wells, Fargo & Co. in California, who also had the contract to bring the overland mails from Carson to Placerville might perform the supplementary service from Placerville to Sacramento and insisted "No difficulty in obtaining proper remuneration for such service at the hands of the next Congress could possibly arise."<sup>77</sup> There is entirely too much evidence in the sudden outburst of activity on the part of Wells, Fargo & Co. relative to the Pony Express between April 1, 1861, and the pony's demise on October 24, 1861, to suggest that the company did not have both a financial interest and a strong voice in its control and management, whether direct or indirect, through The Overland Mail Company.


In spite of the evidence, some parties have insisted:

It is indeed unfortunate that after almost a century the personalities of William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell, the men who founded the Pony Express and heroically bore the disastrous expense of it, should be obscured, and the name of Wells Fargo Express Company, which was not responsible for it in any manner at anytime, be more prominently associated with it in the public mind. It is interesting to note that prior to the year 1929 there is nothing in documented history which even purports to connect Wells Fargo with the origin, management, or operation of the Pony Express. But following the lead of misinformed writers, publicity agents, and motion picture producers, vast numbers of Americans of all ages believe this untruth.<sup>78</sup>


... to credit that company [Wells, Fargo & Co.] with important things someone else did and lavish unearned praise upon it to the detriment of the ones who actually did those things is not right. Nevertheless, that unworthy act has been committed by misinformed, careless, or selfish persons willing to profit by the misrepresentation or misstatement of thoroughly documented historical fact.<sup>79</sup>

This historian is prepared to take his place among the "misinformed, careless and selfish" and with "vast numbers of Americans of all ages" who think Wells, Fargo & Co. was involved in the ownership, operation, and expense of running the trans-Missouri Pony Express in the last third

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S**



**Pony Express.**



**TO VIRGINIA CITY**

**And Intermediate Points.**

On any after

**THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29th,**

The express by pony will close here at a quarter before three (13) o'clock P. M. daily, arriving at destination the next day at 6 o'clock P. M.

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.,**  
By A. M. HAYDEN, Agent.

d28-11

*Courtesy of the California State Library*

Advertisement of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Pony Express service between Sacramento and Virginia City in 1864, *Sacramento Bee*, December 28, 1864, p. 2, c. 3.

## SACRAMENTO DAILY UNION.

FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1861.

### NEWS OF THE MORNING.

By an advertisement published in one of the San Francisco papers, we perceive that the arrangement for a tri-weekly Pony Express, which was promised after the 1st of July, will not go into effect, but that the semi-weekly trips will be continued as at present, with the postage on letters reduced to one dollar per half ounce. Instructions were received by the last Express, from Wells, Fargo & Co., at New York, to make no addition to the service. The intelligence will cause much disappointment to the citizens of California, who have been looking forward with pleasure to the near approach of the tri-weekly arrangement.

*Courtesy of the California State Library*

Newspaper report indicating Wells, Fargo & Co. control of the trans-Missouri Pony Express, *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 28, 1861, p. 2, c. 1.



of its brief and dramatic existence. In the process he can only trust that he has not been guilty of misstatement or of misrepresenting the documentary evidence, but that he has examined the sources with care and comprehension. Moreover, he was fortunate in locating some documents not hitherto examined by writers on the subject of overland mail and transportation.

Perhaps it should also be noted that pony express operation was an activity in which Wells, Fargo & Co. had enviable experience. From the time the company entered the express business in California, it never hesitated to send a single rider on horseback, or pony, to deliver an urgent message, document or treasure. For example, in September, 1852, and for a period of several months thereafter Wells, Fargo & Co. dispatched pony express riders on a route through Placer County, California that ran through eighteen or more specified mining camps along the North Fork of the American River.<sup>80</sup> Between 1853-1855 Wells, Fargo & Co., along with the other express companies in California, sponsored well-publicized relay races by men mounted on the best available ponies. These contests were usually held in connection with events of national importance. One celebrated race was between San Francisco and Weaverville to deliver the text of President Pierce's "state of the Nation" address to the Congress.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, the company's interest in pony express service did not terminate with the demise of the trans-Missouri Pony Express. In December, 1864, Wells, Fargo & Co. inaugurated a pony express between Sacramento, California, and Virginia City, Nevada. This service ran until the March day, 1865, when Abraham Lincoln was installed for his second term as President of the United States.<sup>82</sup> During the period when the Central Pacific Railroad was striving mightily to lay rails across the Sierra Nevada, Wells, Fargo & Co. ran a pony express service between Virginia City, Nevada, and Friday Station at Lake Tahoe by way of Gold Hill, Carson City and other western Nevada towns. At Friday Station, the correspondence, business papers, and treasure were transferred from the pony to the stagecoach that ran to Placerville and there placed upon the train bound for San Francisco.<sup>83</sup> Once the railhead reached Reno, Wells, Fargo & Co. also ran a pony express in competition with the Pacific Union Express to connect that town with Virginia City.<sup>84</sup> Thus, in addition to its responsibility for, and participation in, the operation of the trans-Missouri Pony Express

between March and October, 1861, Wells, Fargo & Co. owned and operated at least four different pony express enterprises between 1852 and 1868 in both California and Nevada.

The more the scholar looks at the evidence concerning Wells, Fargo & Co. as a business concern the more he is likely to be convinced that the company's influence over finance and policy extended into virtually all aspects of transportation and communication. All historians would be well advised to examine the sources with care before categorically asserting that the company had nothing to do with any single phase of that field of endeavor. Certainly they would be in error by making such remarks relative to Pony Express and stagecoach operation in California as well as in other states.

#### NOTES

1. Raymond W. Settle, "The Pony Express: Heroic Effort—Tragic End," in Waddell F. Smith, *The Story of the Pony Express* (San Francisco: Hesperian House, 1960), pp. 183-184.

The Articles of Association, March 18, 1852, reveal that the company's official name was Wells, Fargo & Company. The first amendment to the Articles, May 9, 1853, reads "Wells, Fargo and Company"; the second amendment of January 1, 1862, gives the company name as "Wells Fargo & Company." At the time of the "grand consolidation" in November, 1866, the company name was officially "Wells Fargo and Company," but when the change in name was approved by the Legislature of the Territory of Colorado in 1872 the documents referred to "Wells, Fargo and Company." In 1945 the name was changed to "Wells Fargo & Company." In spite of variations in the style and punctuation of the company name through the years, it should be noted that the word "Express" was never part of the company title, but only an adjunct to designate one of the many types of business in which the company was engaged.

2. The *New York Times*, May 20, 1852 [p. 4, c. 5]; The *New York Herald*, May 22, 1852 [p. 1, c. 3]. Both newspapers published detailed articles on the organization of Wells, Fargo & Co.

3. *Alta California*, July 1, 1852 [p. 3, c. 2]; *San Francisco Herald*, July 2, 1852 [p. 2, c. 3]. According to *The San Francisco Directory of 1861*, Henry F. Langley (compiler), p. 493, the San Francisco office was officially opened on July 13, 1852.

4. Oscar O. Winther, *Express and Stagecoach Days in California* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1936), pp. 63-67. Agents in California were authorized to retain \$50,000 of the company funds "to do business of the company there." See entries in Minutes of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co., September 18

and October 11, 1852. This manuscript record is in the Wells, Fargo & Co. office in New York City.

5. John Godfrey Schaffer, "The Early History of the Wells Fargo Express" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of California, 1922), *Appendix C*.

6. Wells, Fargo & Co. Records, History Room, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco.

7. Winther, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

8. F. A. Bannard, *Register of First-Class Business Houses in San Francisco*, 1852, p. 46. Additional advertisements of the banking operation of Wells, Fargo & Co. may be seen in Parker's *Directory of San Francisco*, 1852, p. 102 and following page; in A. W. Morgan, *San Francisco Directory* [September, 1852] p. 62; and *LeCount & Strong's San Francisco City Directory*, 1854, p. 140.

9. Katherine Coman, *Economic History of the Far West* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), II, p. 275. *The Placer Herald* (Auburn) in its issues between November 20, 1852, and January 22, 1853, carried an advertisement of Wells, Fargo & Co. offering to buy gold dust at \$17.25 an ounce, a figure still permitting a worthwhile margin of profit.

10. John S. Hittell, *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1882), pp. 126-127.

11. For example see *California Farmer*, September 21, 1855 [p. 96, c. 2]; *Marysville Daily Evening Herald*, August 7, 1855 [p. 1, c. 3]; *Shasta Courier*, August 25, 1855 [p. 2, c. 5]; *Sacramento City Directory*, 1854, inside cover; *Hale and Emory's Marysville City Directory*, August, 1853, p. 70.

12. See *Sacramento Directory*, 1856, Front Cover; *Stockton Directory*, 1856, p. 10.

13. Head Notebooks, Operations, 1852-1866, History Room, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco. The figures appearing in the Head Notebooks have been gleaned from the company records in New York.

14. Settle, "The Pony Express: Heroic Effort—Tragic End," *op. cit.*, p. 183.

15. Waddell F. Smith has expressed his views both orally and in writing on many occasions. See, for example, "Stage Lines and Express Companies in California," *The Far Westerner: Quarterly Publication of the Stockton Corral of Westerners*, January, 1965, p. 4, p. 9, p. 10, p. 11; see also, letters to *The Appeal Democrat*, April 26, 1963; *The Sonoma Index-Tribune*, October 3, 1963; and *San Rafael Independent-Journal*, March 11, 1965. All these letters repeat the material issued by Mr. Smith as director of the Pony Express History & Art Gallery under the letterhead of "Russell, Majors and Waddell Pony Express Foundation" on November 13, 1962, with the title, "Let's Keep Our History Straight." Mr. Smith has also written numerous letters to public officials and publishers expressing his anxiety and concern over this matter. See, for example, Waddell F. Smith to Ralph L. Herod, Executive Director of the Redevelopment Agency, Sacramento, February 4, 1965.

16. *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 29, 1851 [p. 3, c. 5]; *Alta California*, October

8, 1853 [p. 4, c. 7]; P. Sioli, *Historical Souvenir of Eldorado County*, 1883 (Oakland: 1883), p. 127.

17. Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Saddles and Spurs, The Pony Express Saga* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1955), pp. 185-186.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

19. Alden Hatch, *American Express Company: A Century of Service*. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1950), p. 28.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 56.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

22. Minutes of The Overland Mail Company, New York, entries for September 16, 1857, pp. 1-8, and April 7, 1858, p. 42.

23. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1857, p. 18.

24. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1858, pp. 19-21.

25. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1858, p. 54.

26. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1858, pp. 72-73.

27. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1859, p. 51.

28. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1858, pp. 36-37.

29. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1859, p. 92.

30. LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926), pp. 132-134. In this pioneering work, Hafen has traced the history of the overland mail emphasizing Congressional debate and legislation as well as the reaction of the press. His work has stood the test of time.

31. Wells, Fargo & Co. made such an advance of \$50,000 during May, 1861. Minutes of the Overland Mail Company, New York. Entries for February 16, March 28, and June 18, 1859; March 3 and 15, 1860; May 18, July 21, and September 26, 1861, record transactions relative to such advances or temporary borrowings.

32. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1859, p. 106.

33. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1859, p. 116.

34. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1860, p. 120.

35. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1860, p. 131.

36. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1860, p. 132.

37. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1860, p. 133.

38. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1860, pp. 136-137.

39. [p. 2, c. 1.]

40. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1859, p. 85. *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 1, 1859 [p. 2, c. 4], advertisement. For problems with delivery of the overland mail between San Jose and San Francisco, see *San Francisco Bulletin* of June 11, 1859 [p. 2, c. 1].

41. Minutes of The Overland Mail Company, November 10, 1859, p. 113; December 30, 1859. These contractual matters are discussed on pp. 117-121.

42. U. S. *Statutes at Large*, xii, 206.

43. All contracts and correspondence relative to these negotiations of March



8-16 can be read in the Minutes of The Overland Mail Company, New York, pp. 146-156.

44. Roy S. Bloss, *Pony Express—The Great Gamble* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1959), p. 133.

45. "Contract of Joint Carriage of Mail Between the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express and Overland Mail Company." The original copy of this important document is in the William B. Waddell Papers, The Huntington Library.

46. References to these contractual negotiations are in the Minute Book of The Overland Mail Company, New York, August 16, 1861, p. 166, and September 26, 1861, p. 173.

47. For example, see Myron Angel, *History of Nevada* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1881), p. 105. Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Waybills, The Romance of the Express Companies* (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1934), p. 250, says that Louis McLane as general manager for Wells, Fargo & Co. bought the line in behalf of his company in 1861 and turned it over to his employers. Victor M. Bertold, *Handbook of Wells Fargo & Co's Handstamps*, etc. (New York: Scott Stamp and Coin Co. [1926]), p. 11, refers to the Pioneer Stage Line as a subsidiary of Wells, Fargo & Co. in 1861.

48. Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co, July 14 and 15, September 16, 1864.

49. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1864.

50. Waddell F. Smith has published photocopies from the Placerville *Mountain Democrat*, June 13, 1868 [p. 3, c. 5], indicating that the Pioneer Stage Company was advertising and operating under its own name. See "Let's Keep Our History Straight," *loc. cit.*

51. General Cash Books, San Francisco Office, Wells Fargo & Co., New York. These have been examined for the period of November, 1861, to October, 1866.

52. Minute Books of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co, entries for September 8 and 9, November 17, 1865; June 13, 1866.

53. *Gold Hill News*, September 1, 1866 [p. 1, c. 2.].

54. *San Francisco Business Directory*, 1866, p. xiii.

55. Advertisements available at the Wells Fargo Bank, History Room, San Francisco.

56. Order Book of J. S. and E. A. Abbott, Volume II, p. 120 and p. 130, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, New Hampshire.

57. *Executive Document* 314, 41st Cong., 2 sess., 1869-1870, Serial No. 1427; Minutes of Wells, Fargo & Co., New York, October 14, 1869, pp. 145-152.

58. *The Stockton Daily Gazette*, October 17, 1868 [p. 1, c. 3].

59. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, September 8, 1870 [p. 3, c. 4].

60. Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 114.

61. *United States Statutes*, xii, 206. A copy of this provision in the contract with the Post Office Department is to be found in the Minutes of The Overland Mail Company, March 16, 1861, p. 155.

62. Settle and Settle, *Saddles and Spurs, The Pony Express Saga*, p. 185.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

64. "Contract for Joint Carriage of Mail Between the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express and Overland Mail Company," William B. Waddell papers in The Huntington Library.

65. The desperate plight of Russell, Majors and Waddell is thoroughly documented in Settle and Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, Chapters X through XIII.

66. Minutes of the Overland Mail Company, New York, entry for March 8, 1861, p. 148.

67. Settle in Waddell F. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

68. *Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1861 [p. 1, c. 1].

69. *Sacramento Union*, May 16, 1861 [p. 2, c. 6]. M. C. Nathan and W. S. Boggs *The Pony Express*, (Theodore E. Steinway Memorial Publication Fund, 1962), p. 37, state that this advertisement appeared in the *Union* as early as April 18, 1861. An identically worded advertisement, obviously written at headquarters, appeared in the San Francisco *Alta California* between April 15 and April 30, 1861, over the signature of J. W. Brown, Agent Pony Express Co. They argue "So the 'office and everything pertaining thereto' was transferred to Wells, Fargo at the western end of the line." The total evidence does suggest that these official notices were a *coup de grâce* to the control of the Pony Express by Russell, Majors and Waddell.

70. Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1932), p. 268.

71. Settle in Waddell F. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168. Waddell Smith has repeatedly tried to suggest that Russell and his associates were still in control of the situation and that the only connection of Wells, Fargo & Co. with the Pony Express was as "local agents" in Sacramento and San Francisco "only for the last six months of its existence." This was one-third of the entire life of the Pony Express. Mr. Smith has used the method of adding his own footnotes to historical material published elsewhere in which he makes his allegations before printing separates issued by his Pony Express History and Art Gallery. See, for example, the note added to a summation of a speech he delivered before the California Historical Society and first printed in the March, 1950, *Quarterly* of that Society and then reissued as a private publication. The same method was used in republishing the official "Review of History of the Pony Express" prepared by the Library of Congress in 1960. The monotonous assertion is added to circulars entitled "Pony Express Centennial Revolver," "The Pony Express," "Let's Keep Our History Straight," and a photocopy sheet of advertisements in the *Sacramento Union*, October 26, 1861, and a San Francisco Directory of that year.

It should be noted that neither of these authors have ever presented a single document written by Russell or either of his partners issuing instructions to any Wells, Fargo & Co. agent. The assertion is made without reference to sources.

72. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, February 28, 1861 [p. 1, c. 4]. The Settles have examined documents whereby Russell and his partners Waddell and Majors assigned their property to trustees and state that none of the deeds in trust include the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company stock in their lists of assets. They conclude that the express company, in whose name the Pony Express was initiated and operated, was not involved in the bankruptcy of the freighting firm. This is remarkable, if true, for if the Pony Express business was considered a significant asset it would have, of necessity, been sacrificed in view of the heavy indebtedness of all three men. Settle and Settle, *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, pp. 158-160.

73. Minutes of The Overland Mail Company, p. 153.

74. J. V. Frederick, *Ben Holladay: The Stage King* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1940), pp. 1, 40, 65; George A. Root and Russell K. Hickman, "The Pike's Peak Express Companies," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1945), pp. 88-89.

75. *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 28, 1861 [p. 2, c. 1].

76. For example see the handbill issued in New York under date of July 1, 1861. Original copy in Wells Fargo Bank, History Room, San Francisco. This document distributed to the press has been reproduced in Bloss, *op. cit.*, between p. 120 and p. 121. See also, San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, June 28, 1861 [p. 1, c. 6].

77. *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 28, 1861 [p. 2, c. 1].

78. Settle in Waddell F. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 184. In their latest book *War Drums and Wagon Wheels*, the Settles are not so adamant, but they still insist, "... contrary to popular opinion, it [Wells, Fargo & Co.] never owned the institution [the Pony Express] or had anything to do with making of policies, fixing of rates, or the executive administration of the business," p. 165.

80. *The Weekly Placer Herald*, September 11, 1852 [p. 3, c. 1].

81. H. H. Noonan, "A Famous Ride of Early Days," *Weaverville Journal*, March 31, 1934. Another account of this 1853 race is in *The Pony Express*, January, 1965, San Francisco *Alta California*, January 11, 1855 [p. 2, c. 2].

82. *Sacramento Bee*, December 28, 1864. An advertisement appeared on p. 2, c. 3 and a local news item on p. 3, c. 2. This same advertisement appeared in the next three issues of December 29, 30, and 31, 1864, and in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 29, 1864. The paid advertisement is found p. 2, c. 5. A news item is on p. 3, c. 1. This advertisement continued to run in the newspaper through December 31, 1864 [p. 2, c. 6], *The Daily Bee* (Sacramento), March 3, 1865 [p. 2, c. 2].

83. Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1893), pp. 180-181; Fred Lockley, *Vigilante Days at*



*Virginia City, Personal Narrative of Col. Henry E. Dosch . . .* (Portland: Fred Lockley, 1924), p. 5.

84. *Sacramento Union*, July 3, 1868 [p. 3, c. 2]; William R. Gillis, *Gold Rush Days with Mark Twain* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1930), p. 92.



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# The Pre-World War II Mexican-American: An Interpretation

By MANUEL P. SERVÍN

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THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN resident in the United States constitutes this nation's most unique, if not mystifying, minority group. Descendant of the aboriginal American inhabitants and of the first European settlers in the New World, the Mexican-American, despite the fact that he preponderantly lived and still lives in areas that were wrested from him, has until the recent war years been considered not an American but a foreigner. This fact has been so evident that even European immigrants, whose accents patently reveal their very recent arrival in the United States, did not hesitate to regard the Mexican-American not as an American but as a Mexican, whom they considered less American than themselves.

That such an attitude should prevail is clearly understandable to those possessing an historical insight to early North American-Mexican relations. Incredible as it may seem, the Mexican became a minority group—a despised minority—not when he immigrated to the North American Republic, but rather when the North American migrated to Mexican Texas and California, finding on the whole a poor class of Hispanic settler. Consequently, despite his residence on his own national soil, it was the Mexican who became the backward, somewhat unassimilable foreigner.

This attitude toward the Mexican, particularly in Texas, was further intensified by the wars affecting the North Americans and Mexicans. With the few exceptions of the *ricos* (the few wealthy ones)

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This essay is a revised section of "The Postwar Mexican-American: A Non-achieving Minority," which was delivered at the Annual Conference of the Western History Association on October 15, 1965, at Helena, Montana.

who passed themselves off as Spaniards, the Mexican truly became a minority group in the worst sense of the word. Generally despised in Texas, dispossessed of his lands in California, and denying his racial heritage in New Mexico, he lacked an acknowledged Mexican aristocracy—social, economic, and clerical—which would visibly prove to him that he was capable of achieving success and status.

The plight of the Mexican in the United States, however, did not reach its lowest depth with the Texas and Mexican wars. Despite Mexican treachery at Goliad, cruelty at San Antonio, and lack of bravery at San Jacinto, Santa Fé, and Monterey, the image of the Mexican was to be even further denigrated. The discovery of gold in California attracted an even poorer class Mexican—the *Norteño* or Sonoran—than even the early settlers of New Mexico, Texas, and California. Little Mexicos, called Sonora towns, sprouted throughout the gold routes of the Southwest and California. These towns and their residents represented at this time the least civilized and urbane element of Mexico.<sup>1</sup> The towns were far from being a Querétaro, León, or San Miguel de Allende—that is, far from being centers of culture, virtue, art. Sonora towns, such as Los Angeles became, were a home for thieves, murderers, and unappetizing prostitutes.<sup>2</sup> Consequently while some of the less puritanical Gringos enjoyed the life of this somewhat depraved but enjoyable minority, such was not the case with the majority of the Americans. This was especially true after the 1880's opening of the southern transcontinental railroad lines which transported the solid, but perhaps sanctimonious and prosaic, hordes of Middle Westerners to California, Arizona, and Texas.

The decades that followed the 1880's North Americanization of the Southwest and preceded the early twentieth-century wave of Mexican immigration are in an historical sense extremely quiet concerning North American and Mexican-American relations. Perhaps it would not be too rash to surmise that the Mexican-American of this period generally resigned himself to a fate that previous historical events had cast upon him. He was, at least in the eyes of the North American, an inferior being, a half-breed, if not a *coyote*; he was unassimilable, especially if he was dark skinned; he was treacherous; he was cowardly; he was lazy; and thus he was not an American but a Mexican whose lot was to exist in poverty, subservience, and isolation.

That such was the fate of the Mexican after the 1880's is attested to by the treatment of the Mexican immigrant who arrived in the United States in the early twentieth century after the fall of Don Porfirio Díaz.

Unfortunately for this new Mexican immigrant, he was neither prepared for the treatment that he would receive nor would he be able to understand the reasons for it. Because of the great changes, relative progress, and social and political stability imposed upon Mexico by the benevolent dictator Porfirio Díaz, the twentieth-century Mexican immigrant was a different person from his early predecessor in the Borderlands. He was far from lawless—Díaz's *rurales* had created respect for law and order. He was not the idle, lazy Greaser so eloquently characterized by early American writers—he had been oppressed in peonage for much too lengthy a period. Generally speaking, he was a moral and religious man—he had emigrated generally from the highly religious areas of Mexico. Finally, he was meek and submissive—Díaz's policy of *pan ó palo* had been effective.

It was this humble and meek person who began arriving in 1901 in great numbers to reside permanently in the United States. His increasing immigration, as determined by the United States Census of 1930, reflected the chaotic condition of Revolutionary Mexico and the need of the North American cheap labor. Thus in 1901-1910 over 93,000 Mexicans legally entered the United States and remained at least until 1930; in 1911-1914 approximately 77,000; in the War years of 1915-1919 about 137,000; in 1920-1924 over 135,000, and in 1925-1930 just under 109,000.<sup>3</sup> By 1930 there were about 617,000 legal Mexican immigrants residing in the United States, constituting almost one-half of the legal Mexican population in the nation.<sup>4</sup> Actually, however, it is quite safe to state that if the illegal entrants—the predecessors of the wetbacks and fence-climbers—were taken into account, the majority of the Mexicans then residing in the United States were foreign born.<sup>5</sup> And, perhaps even more significant than the rate of foreign born Mexicans are the sound indications that they were not predominantly a rural group, as is often asserted, but were perhaps in the majority emigrants from urban areas.

This wave of legal and illegal Mexican immigration, plus the birth rate of the early Spanish Borderlands' Mexican, swelled the total legal Mexican population in the United States in 1930 at least to just under

one and one-half million.<sup>6</sup> Although Mexicans migrated in some numbers to such states as Michigan, Illinois, Kansas, and Indiana, it was in the Southwest, the former Mexican territory, that the overwhelming majority—some one and one-quarter million—settled.<sup>7</sup> By 1930, Texas, long reputed among Mexicans as the most racially bigoted state, had the largest Mexican population, some 683,000. California had approximately 368,000; New Mexico, possibly 200,000 (although only 59,000 of these descendants from the early colonizers confessed to being Mexican to the census taker); Arizona, just over 114,000; and Colorado, about 57,000.<sup>8</sup>

Contemporary materials on the life of the early twentieth-century Mexican, particularly of the poor, ignorant, docile immigrant, are sparse. Had it not been for foresight and imagination of Professors Paul S. Taylor and Emory S. Bogardus, of the Universities of California and of Southern California respectively, little would have been written of his ignominious suffering. It is basically from their works (particularly those of Dr. Taylor), from the interviewing of immigrants of the period, and from my boyhood recollections that the following brief picture of the plight of pre-World War II Mexican has been reconstructed.

The panoramic picture presented of the early twentieth-century Mexican, who was born before 1926 and who did not enjoy the social and economic opportunities resulting from World War II, is interesting and, compared to that of the Post-World War Mexican-American, a more respectable one. Arriving in poverty, unable to speak English, and inheriting the anti-Mexican prejudice engendered decades before, the Mexican was definitely at a disadvantage and greatly in need of help. Unfortunately, such help was not given, particularly by the groups from which the Mexican expected aid. The Spanish-speaking aristocracy—old Mexicans who disguised their heritage under such euphemisms as Californios, Spanish-Americans, and Hispanos—generally not only ignored but apparently despised the immigrant.<sup>9</sup> The Roman Catholic Church, aside from building churches and stationing refugee Mexican priests in Spanish-speaking parishes, did little to aid materially or socially.<sup>10</sup> Paradoxically, it was certain Protestant churches, especially the Methodist, that appeared to be most cognizant of the plight of the immigrant.<sup>11</sup> It is, therefore, not strange that bitterness toward the Spanish-speaking aristocracy and some antipathy



toward the Church should have developed—a bitterness characterizing the aristocracy in a most unprintable manner and an antipathy resulting in the conversion of many Mexicans to Protestantism.

Unaided by their own groups and unable to obtain work in their previous occupations, the Mexicans were forced to take the lowest paying jobs as well as the most difficult work. In the agricultural areas of Texas, Colorado, and California they became the neglected, underpaid, exploited migratory farm workers. In the north central areas of the nation they performed various forms of low-paid unskilled labor. In Chicago and the Calumet area, for example, they worked in the railroad sections and in the meat packing plants. In Minnesota they worked in the sugar beet industry. And, in the area of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, they became unskilled steel workers. Thus, the Mexicans were consciously relegated to the lowest working positions.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the classical example of this policy was best expressed to Dr. Taylor by an executive in the Chicago and the Calumet area who bluntly stated the hiring policy found in the area:

We use no Mexicans. We have more refined work and have not had to resort to the greasers. They use them for rough work and around blast furnaces.<sup>13</sup>

But regardless of the demeaning work which they were assigned, the Mexicans, despite conflicting testimony, appear to have been good but not excellent workers. Preferred in California and Texas as farm laborers, the Mexicans did not merit this preference and achievement because they were built closer to the ground and possessed a physical advantage. The preference was simply economic: they were unorganized, apparently docile, and did not demand decent wages and living conditions.<sup>14</sup> In the industrial areas their record, as in the farming areas, was also respectable. They compared both favorably and unfavorably with the Slovaks, Wends, Negroes, and Irish.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the most favorable report on the Mexicans' work occurred in Bethlehem when Dr. Taylor interviewed a number of executives, one of whom stated that he

rated the Mexicans as equals or possibly the superior of the two important groups of Europeans available for the same work: 'The Mexicans are a good class of men as a whole; the majority are good steady workers. As a class their intelligence is above the Slavish [Slovaks] and Wendish. They are a bright, keen race, and good

workers.' And in response to my observation [Dr. Taylor's] that in other localities some persons regard Mexicans as possessing low intelligence, he added, 'If some people think the Mexicans are dumb, they should see some of our Irish. . . .'<sup>16</sup>

Notwithstanding the Mexican's at least average work record, he, along with the Negro, was the lowest paid of the workers, both on the farms and in the plants. Unlike the Japanese who was disliked by his fellow workers because of his industriousness and efficiency, the Mexican was unacceptable to his co-workers for a number of reasons. The reasons generally cited were that he lowered wages and weakened union organization.<sup>17</sup> But the racial difference, the dark skin, unhygienic appearance, and quaint dress habits appear to be, at least to me, the more basic reasons. Following almost an identical pattern of the well-known segregation that existed in Arizona, California, and Texas, the Mexican had difficulty renting in better neighborhoods. The litany of such forced segregation in the Middle West makes interesting but sad reading:

The principal colony of Mexicans near the stockyards is located on the west side. The fact that its development was checked on the east side, where the Mexicans appeared first, and subsequently stimulated on the west side was attributed by local residents chiefly to the resistance of the Irish (including the second generation) living on the east side. . . .<sup>18</sup>

\* \* \*

The movement of Mexicans west of the yards was also opposed. There they encountered violent attacks of the Poles. . . . The Poles and Lithuanians . . . decline to rent to Mexicans in their well established neighborhood. . . .<sup>19</sup>

\* \* \*

In South Chicago a good deal of hostility was manifested toward Mexican neighbors, especially when they sought to move out from the more restricted and poorer locality which they occupied, largely among Negroes. An old resident, a German found the Mexicans satisfactory neighbors: . . . But others, particularly young Poles, probably American born, expressed vigorous complaints: . . .<sup>20</sup>

The low wages received by the Mexicans, regardless of area, plus their own cultural and racial drawbacks, of course, had a very essential influence upon their living conditions. While Texas has always possessed among both Mexicans and dogmatic liberals the worst reputation for oppressing Mexicans and for retaining them in the lowest substand-

ard living conditions, it is my judgment—as a person who has traveled in Texas, attended school in New Mexico, journeyed extensively through Arizona, and was reared in California—that the living conditions, with some very few exceptions in New Mexico, were equally as poor in utopian California as in Texas, Arizona, and other areas.<sup>21</sup>

Southern California, whose record for indiscriminate, hypocritical discrimination is difficult to excel, possessed perhaps the Southwest's most blatant opposing living conditions between the White North American and the Indian-Spanish Mexican. Few Mexican *barrios* could compete in poverty with that of Maravilla Park in Los Angeles County where two and sometimes three shacks built of scrap lumber, old boxes, and other salvage were erected in one small lot; where there were forty houses to a city block; where the average family income in 1928 was \$795; where almost all workers were unskilled laborers; and where out of 317 houses only ten had cesspools connected with flush toilets.<sup>22</sup>

But in reality Maravilla Park was not an exception in California. Similar living conditions could be found in El Centro, San Fernando, and the outskirts of Montebello, Whittier, and El Monte—and, incidentally, in various cities of the San Joaquin Valley, even today.<sup>23</sup>

Actually, such poverty was not unknown to the Mexican in his home country, and would not be a great source of unhappiness. What did strike the Mexican was the irrational prejudice and disdain that he encountered. In many areas he could not eat in the same restaurant with the North American, nor could he swim in the same pools. In other areas he could not attend the same theatres, or if allowed to do so, he would have to sit in a segregated section; but this segregation, similar to his living among his own people, did not seem to bother him—perhaps he inwardly considered himself equal or even superior to the Americans in some areas.<sup>24</sup>

Yet despite all the disheartening and degrading conditions that he encountered, the Pre-World War II Mexican not only maintained a good record but made certain remarkable achievements.

Although he inherited the poor reputation for crime from the very early Mexican settlers, his crime record, basing it on random examples, was not outstandingly bad.<sup>25</sup> In the Chicago and the Calumet area, a two-year survey—1928-1929—revealed that 1.4 percent of all persons arrested were of Mexican nativity, while the Mexican population con-

stituted only .57 percent of the total population.<sup>26</sup> In Los Angeles City the 1927-1928 percentage of Mexican arrests, revealing narcotics (probably marihuana), drunkenness, and vagrancy as the raising element, amounted to 17.5, while the Mexican population of the city was slightly over 10 percent.<sup>27</sup> In rural Imperial Valley, an important farming area, where the Mexican in 1925 was supposed to be responsible for 75 percent of all crimes, it was authoritatively found that he was responsible for only one-fourth of all crime, while he constituted approximately one-third of the population.<sup>28</sup> Thus, seeing that the rural crime rate was less in proportion to that of the urban, one might conjecture (perhaps somewhat dangerously) that since the Mexican population in the United States was almost equally divided between rural and urban, its crime rate was in proportion to, or even lower than, its total population.

A similar picture is found in California regarding juvenile delinquency—a reflection of family life. In Los Angeles County as of March of 1928, 19 percent of the Mexican boys and 28 percent of the Mexican girls were on probation—figures which were far above the estimated 11 percent total Mexican population.<sup>29</sup> Yet in Imperial Valley the picture was reversed. The percentage of Mexican children involved in juvenile court was proportionately much less than the total Mexican population, and incidentally less than that of old North American stock.<sup>30</sup>

Besides possessing a rather good work record and not a bad adult and juvenile crime rate, the Mexican also possessed fairly good records in marital relations and relief. Insofar as married life was concerned, there is little doubt that his divorce rate was less than either that of the Negroes or Whites.<sup>31</sup> His public relief record, based upon statistics of California—the nation's most magnanimous or perhaps most foolish state—was not quite as good, but it was apparently below his proportional maximum. Despite unfavorable relief records in Los Angeles, Orange, and Riverside counties, and despite the low and seasonal wages he was paid, it is evident from Governor C. C. Young's *Report* that the Mexican in California was not only not a burden on the state but that he did receive only a slight amount above his just proportion of relief funds.<sup>32</sup> That such a case seems to have been true throughout the nation appears most plausible from the *Report* of the Governor's Interracial



Commission in Minnesota and from the Mexicans' practice of organizing societies such as the Cruz Azul for helping each other financially and otherwise.<sup>33</sup>

Undoubtedly the Mexican's area of least success and greatest failure was in obtaining an education. Coming from a culture failing to prize mass education, finding it necessary to put even his elementary-age children to work, and perhaps feeling frustrated that an education would not help him overcome the prejudices and disdainful treatment he received throughout the Southwest, the Mexican failed drastically to take advantage of the educational opportunities opened to him. Of all the groups listed in the Census of 1930, he had the lowest percentage of school attendance—a factor of course that in the long run militated and still militates against him and his future advancement.<sup>34</sup>

Yet despite the Pre-War Mexican's lack of educational interest, language barrier, and racial and cultural prejudice, he made some formidable breakthroughs in addition to gradually changing his portrait in the areas of work, crime, family life, and relief. Unlike some other persecuted minorities, he established a very good, cultural Spanish press, as exemplified by the Los Angeles *La Opinión*. He broke into the motion pictures and produced respectable and respected stars such as Ramón Novarro, Dolores del Río, and Gilbert Roland. In the East he gave such distinguished professional men as *conquistador*-descended Harold Medina, the jurist; Alonso E. Escalante, American Maryknoll missionary bishop for Mexico; and American-trained dancer-choreographer, José Limón. In crime, he at least showed some ability to think "big" as exemplified in the case of the fugitive Los Angeles police lieutenant, Peter Del Gado. In music he developed popular crooners such as Andy Russell and more serious singers as José Mojica and Tito Guízar. And, in higher education, in addition to the colonial-descended and highly distinguished Espinoza family, he came forth with such academic limelights as Carlos Eduardo Castañeda and George Isidore Sánchez, both from the University of Texas.<sup>35</sup>

Breakthroughs into North American life were not, however, the only achievement that the Pre-World War Mexican attained. He also made some contributions to United States culture—and I do not mean just the adding of tacos, tamales, and margaritas to the North American diet. He contributed, as Henry López's recent interview with

Katherine Anne Porter in *Harper's Magazine* indicates, an incentive for enriching American letters.<sup>36</sup>

The period of Pre-World War II Mexican in the United States came to an end with opening of hostilities late in 1941 and early in 1942. The Post-World War II young Mexican, who was either in secondary or elementary school, that is, the young Mexican-descended person who was born after 1925 or 1926, encountered entirely different social and economic conditions than his predecessors. He now became an American, even though he was hyphenated. Jobs, previously denied to his racial groups, were open to him. Positions of authority, previously unattainable, were much more within his grasp. He could also swim in the same pools and eat in the same restaurants with North Americans. Furthermore, the war made it possible, at least for the older Mexican-Americans, to obtain a college education as the result of the G.I. Bill of Rights.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately, a minority of the wartime Mexican-American youths, the Pachucos or zootsuiters, reacted in a most un-Mexican-like manner. Dressed outlandishly, as they followed the styles of less acceptable minorities, they quickly undid the hard-earned reputation of the Pre-war Mexican. Rejecting their own culture, the bizarrely attired Pachucos attacked the United States service men in a rat-pack manner and, regardless of justification or guilt, gave the Mexican community—which incidentally seemed to condemn the Pachucos as much as the North American—an undeserved reputation for lawlessness, cowardice, and disloyalty.<sup>38</sup> As a result, the heroic service of the Mexican-Americans in the Philippines as well as the outstanding bravery of the numerous Congressional Medal of Honor winners in World War II were ignored by the North Americans.<sup>39</sup>

Thus the period of the pre-World War II Mexican came to an end. Instead of being acknowledged for his behavior, his hard working habits, and his bravery, he was mistakenly identified with the Pachuco and deprived of a well deserved recognition.

#### NOTES

1. For the Sonorans see J. M. Guinn, "The Sonoran Migration," *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* VIII (1909-1910), 31-36; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York, 1946), pp. 55-68.

2. An interesting description of Los Angeles is found in Robert Glass Cleland, *History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1922), pp. 312-322.

3. U.S. Bureau of Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population* (Washington, 1933), II, 498.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 25, 27, 405.

5. *Ibid.* For an estimate of illegal immigration see Emory S. Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States* (Los Angeles, 1934), p. 15; also see Leo Grebler, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and Its Implications* (Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 7-11, 17-29.

6. *Ibid.*, II, 27; Enrique Santibañez, *Ensayo acerca de la inmigración Mexicana en los Estados Unidos* (San Antonio, 1930), pp. 47-48.

7. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, II, 35.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Interview with José Bravo, Los Angeles, September 11, 1965; interview with Dionisio Rodríguez, Los Angeles, September 11, 1965.

10. The Rev. Francis J. Weber, "His Excellency of Los Angeles: The Life and Times of the Most Reverend John J. Cantwell," MS, pp. 96-103, Archives of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California; *Notes: Outline of Protestant Proselytism in the United States* (Los Angeles, 1945), pp. 1-8, 54-55, 66-82; *Notes: The Mexican Problem and its Latin American Background* (Los Angeles, 1942), *passim*; Kathryn Cramp *et al.*, "A Study of the Mexican Population of Imperial Valley, California," MS, p. 23, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

An example of the Catholic Church's neglect of the Mexican is graphically illustrated by the late date (1944) that the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking was formed. See Rosemary E. Smith, "The Work of Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking on Behalf of the Migrant Worker" (master's thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1958), p. 4.

11. In order to obtain a true insight of the zeal and efforts of the Methodists in working with Mexicans of the period it is only necessary to read the *Minutes of the Southern California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1879-1939*, Conference Headquarters, Los Angeles. For a very limited view into Methodist Church activities see Edward Drewry Jervey, *The History of Methodism in Southern California and Arizona* (Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 90-100. Also see *Notes: The Mexican Problem and its Latin American Background*, *passim*.

12. For the work the Mexican performed see Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States*, published in the University of California Publications in Economics. Dr. Taylor's different studies utilized in this essay and cited individually are: *Mexican Labor in the United States: Imperial Valley* (Berkeley, 1928); *Mexican Labor in the United States: Valley of the South Platte, Colorado* (Berkeley, 1929); *Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden, South Texas* (Berkeley, 1930); *Mexican Labor in the United States: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (Berkeley, 1931); *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region* (Berkeley, 1932). Also see Kathryn Cramp



*et al.*, "A Study of the Mexican Population in Imperial Valley, California," MS, 1926, Bancroft Library; Santibañez, *Ensayo acerca de la inmigración Mexicana en los Estados Unidos*, especially p. 53; The Governor's Interracial Commission, *The Mexican in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1953); and Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1949).

13. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, p. 80.

14. For a summary of Mexicans to unionize agriculturally in early 1900's see Federal Writers' Project, "Organization Efforts of Mexican Agricultural Workers," (Oakland, 1939), MS, Bancroft Library. For other areas see Cramp *et al.*, "A Study of Mexican Population in Imperial Valley, California," pp. 1-2, 6-11; George L. Cady, *Report of Commission on International and Interracial Factors in the Problem of the Mexicans in the United States* (1926), pp. 11, 21; State of California, *Mexicans in California: Report of Governor C. C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee* (San Francisco, 1930), pp. 159-171, especially 171, and also pp. 123-150, 176-179.

15. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, pp. 81-87; Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Bethlehem*, pp. 13-14.

16. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Bethlehem*, p. 13.

17. For examples of lowering wages see Taylor, *Mexican Labor in United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, pp. 77-80.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

21. The information compiled by George L. Cady, *Report of Commission on International and Interracial Factors in the Problem of the Mexicans in the United States*, as well as Paul Taylor's studies on Mexican Labor in California, Texas, Colorado, Chicago and the Calumet, appear to bear out this writer's evaluation.

22. *Mexicans in California: Report of Governor C. C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee*, pp. 177-178. For an all enclosing view of the poverty of Mexican communities in Chicago, Colorado, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California see W. Rex Crawford, "The Latin American in Wartime United States," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 223 (September, 1942), 127.

23. *Mexicans in California: Report of Governor C. C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee*, pp. 178-179.

24. A fine example of almost complete segregation is contained Cramp *et al.*, "A Study of the Mexican Population in Imperial Valley, California." A partial list of segregated living and school districts in California is found in *Mexicans in California*, pp. 176-177.



Also see Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States*, pp. 28-29, for an area in which the Mexican did not consider himself inferior to the North American.

25. George L. Cady in his *Report of Commission on International and Inter-racial Factors in the Problem of Mexicans in the United States* gives a fine example of this pre-World War II exaggeration, p. 10. A somewhat different interpretation, indicating "an unusually high rate of crime and delinquency," is found in Bogardus, *The Mexicans in the United States*, pp. 52-58.

26. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, p. 144.

27. *Mexicans in California*, pp. 203 and 175-176.

28. Cramp *et al.*, "A Study of the Mexican Population in Imperial Valley, California," p. 11, also see p. 12.

29. *Mexicans in California*, p. 204.

30. Cramp, *et al.*, "A Study of the Mexican Population in Imperial Valley, California," pp. 10 and 25.

31. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, II, 842.

32. *Mexicans in California*, pp. 190-191, 195-196.

33. *The Mexicans in Minnesota*, pp. 44-45; Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States*, Bethlehem, p. 17; Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, pp. 124, 128-129, 132-133; Cramp *et al.*, "A Study of the Mexican Population in Imperial Valley, California," pp. 13-14; interview with José M. Bravo, Los Angeles, September 11, 1965.

34. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, II, 1094-1095; Pauline R. Kibbe, *Latin American in Texas* (Albuquerque, 1946), p. 92, presents a fine example of the frustration encountered by enthusiastic Mexican students.

35. For biographical data on Ramón Novarro, Dolores del Río, and Gilbert Roland see Langford Reed and Hetty Spiers, eds., *Who's Who in Filmland* (3rd ed.; London, 1931), pp. 227, 84, 259.

Judge Harold Medina's Mexican ancestry is discussed in *Time Magazine*, LIV (October 24, 1949), 23. Bishop Alonso E. Escalante's biographical data are found in the *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy, 1789-1964*, p. 84. Biographical data on José Limón are published in the *Celebrity Register* (New York, 1963), p. 375.

For Peter Del Gado's part in Shaw administration in Los Angeles see *Time Magazine* XXXII (December 5, 1938), 14; interview with Mr. Richard Rodríguez, Los Angeles, September 29, 1965.

For the Mexican singers of the period only Tito Guízar is listed in Otto Mayer-Serra, *Música y Músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico, 1947), I, 459. For José Mojica, who entered the Franciscan Order, see *The Tidings* (Los Angeles), January 14, 1966. Andy Russell's biographical data is found in J. T. Mize (ed.), *The International Who is Who in Music* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 359-360.

Professors Carlos Eduardo Castañeda and George I. Sánchez are listed in Jacques Cattell, *Directory of American Scholars: A Biographical Dictionary* (3rd ed.; New York, 1957), pp. 122, 653.

36. Katherine Anne Porter, "A Country and Some People I Love: An Interview by Hank López," *Harper's Magazine* 231 (September, 1965), 58-68.
37. For examples of the World War II's resulting emancipation see Ruth D. Tuck, *Not with the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City* (New York, 1946), p. 198; Kibbe, *Latin Americans in Texas*, p. 100, 105.
38. This writer does not remember finding a contemporary Pre-World War II Mexican adult or parent defending or offering an apology for the Pachucos.
39. For the number of Mexican-Americans who distinguished themselves in the field, see Raúl Morín, *Among the Valiant: Mexican-Americans in World War II and Korea* (Los Angeles, 1963), *passim*.

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# The Garra Uprising: Conflict Between San Diego Indians and Settlers in 1851

By WILLIAM EDWARD EVANS

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WITH THE ADVENT of the Gold Rush in 1849, California experienced striking alterations in appearance, character, and circumstance. The pastoral Californios, steeped in the feudal tradition of the hacienda, were summarily swept aside by a flood of Anglo-American adventurers. Hoards of entrepreneurs, miners, gamblers, and saloon keepers invaded the land overnight. In the ensuing social disorganization, competition became the key to survival, and homicide was common.<sup>1</sup> One example of the subsequent conflict was the Indian *emeute* of 1851, led by Antonio Garra in San Diego County. The Garra uprising was an integral part of a three-sided struggle for survival in a unique, prime ordeal and highly competitive environment.

In 1845 the population of the *gente de razón*, composed of Spanish-speaking Ibero-Americans and a few recently arrived Anglo-American immigrants, did not exceed four thousand. The native population is estimated at over one hundred thousand. It was typical of the Spanish colonizing technique that Ibero-American immigration was kept at a bare minimum with the intention of incorporating the *indigenes* into the Spanish culture. In this way the colonials were required to avail themselves of the Indian as a resource.<sup>2</sup>

When thousands of Anglo-Americans suddenly converged on California, the Indian's opportunity for employment in the new technology increased at first and later declined. Although both male and female Indians exhibited a marked aversion to regular employment and were "much addicted to intemperance,"<sup>3</sup> Americans utilized them as laborers and domestics whenever possible. Many of them had been trained as craftsmen and mechanics by the Franciscans prior to secularization of

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the missions, and, in fact, they were capable of filling many of the "laborious occupations known to civilized society."<sup>4</sup> Indian labor was used in business, farming, ranching, and in domestic service.

After 1850 the Indians of California began returning to their mountain villages. They did this, not necessarily because they were "rigidly excluded"<sup>5</sup> from the Anglo-American culture, but because of the federal policy of offering presents to the Indian through his tribal leader. This led to the abandonment of the ranchos and pueblos by the Indians, thereby depriving households, ranchers, farmers, and entrepreneurs of valuable laborers, and thus restricting amalgamation and acculturation.<sup>6</sup> As the Indians returned to their mountain villages they began to pose a threat to the settlers along the coast.

One such Indian village was situated in the mountains inland from San Diego, the whites referring to this site as Agua Caliente. For many years prior to 1852 the village was administered by Antonio Garra, a Yuman<sup>7</sup> who had been educated at the San Luis Rey Mission.<sup>8</sup> His was a transitional village, incorporating the culture of the Luiseños to the northwest, the Diegueños to the south and west, and the Yumans to the east. The Indians of Agua Caliente, who have come to be known as Cupeños, spoke a variation of the Shoshonean linguistic stock, and were a branch of the vast Cahuilla tribe to the north and east.<sup>9</sup>

The *ranchería* of Agua Caliente, located in the Valle de San José<sup>10</sup> was certainly anything but isolated. As a matter of fact the valley was a major thoroughfare to most traffic coming to California via the Southern Trail. This was the first place immigrants could refresh themselves and their animals after crossing the desert, and the last place they could take on supplies before attempting the return trip. Thousands of travelers must have passed through the valley on their way to the coast of California. It was precisely within this valley that the main road branched, one fork to San Diego, and the other to Los Angeles.

The village chief, Antonio Garra, occupied a large adobe house which had formerly belonged to the Mission of San Luis Rey. There had been several fine vineyards of which one remained in 1850. There was even a well stocked store kept by the American, William Marshall. Indians wandered in and out of camp in a steady stream. Here they congregated to play a card game known as *Monte*, and to drink much *aguardiente*. Close by were the hot springs where women washed



clothes and everyone, Indians and immigrants alike, bathed. Rocks and sand had been thrown up, damming the water so that thirty could bathe at the same time conveniently.<sup>11</sup>

By 1850 the Valle de San José had become more commonly referred to as Warner's Ranch. Juan José Warner had immigrated to California from Connecticut in 1831, becoming a naturalized Mexican citizen in 1843.<sup>12</sup> In 1844 he had petitioned for a grant of the entire Valle de San José. On November 28, 1844, Don Juan José Warner received from Governor Manuel Micheltorena a grant of land which embraced the entire valley, including the northern portion known as San José or Agua Caliente.<sup>13</sup> Warner and his wife moved to the property immediately, where he built an adobe house in which he lived from 1845 to 1855. It was located right at the junction of the San Diego and Los Angeles roads, a convenient location for trading with immigrants, approximately five or six miles from the Indian village at the hot springs.

Warner, having moved onto the ranch, remained there until he was temporarily driven off by the Cupeños in the Indian uprising of 1851. Apparently there had been a quarrel of long standing between Warner and the Indians which was brought to a head by an attempt to impose a state tax on the Indians of Agua Caliente.<sup>14</sup> The attempt to collect this tax provoked the conflict which has come to be known as the Garra uprising.

In reprisal to the tax measure the Cupeños joined forces with a Yuma raiding party, and subsequently stole a large herd of sheep west of the Colorado River. Five of the six Americans herding the sheep were killed. Their mutilated bodies were found later. The Cupeños lost ten men. Quarreling over the division of the sheep, the two tribes parted company in the desert. The Cupeño chief, Antonio Garra, had hoped for their continued joint co-operation in the uprising, but such was not to be the case.<sup>15</sup>

Returning to Agua Caliente, Garra ordered his men to murder the Americans in the camp. About midnight, November 21, 1851, Juan Bautista or Cotón, an Indian of Agua Caliente, with Antonino, the son of Antonio Garra, went to the house of José No-ca. They were accompanied by Luis E. Alcalde who asked permission of No-ca to take an American by the name of Joseph Manning from the house. Manning was then killed with a lance by an Indian named Carlos while

"Mariano and Cosme struck on his head with clubs."<sup>16</sup> After some argument, the Indians divided Manning's possessions. William Marshall, an American who operated the store, and who had married into the Cupeño tribe,<sup>17</sup> joined in the slaying of three additional Americans.<sup>18</sup> The next morning, Saturday, November 22, 1851, the Indians sacked Warner's house. Warner was successful in his escape, probably to the nearby Diegueño village of San José. All of his possessions, however, and livestock were stolen.

Shortly thereafter José Antonio Estudillo of San Diego received a letter from Antonio Garra dated November 21, 1851, implying that some exchange of ideas had taken place previously between the two men regarding the tax problem. With the help of the creative editorializing of J. Judson Ames, then editor of the San Diego *Herald*, word spread among the new Anglo-American element that the Indian uprising had been sponsored by the Ibero-Americans. Apparently duels were fought in Old Town, San Diego, as a consequence.<sup>19</sup> No explanation has ever been made as to how such an inflammatory document became public property. Estudillo would not appear to have stood to profit from publicizing the letter. Possibly it was intercepted before he received it. George M. Davis made a translation which he and Edward F. Fitzgerald signed. It reads as follows:

Mr. Jose Antonio Estudillo

I salute you. Some time past I told you what I thought, and now the moment has arrived to strike the blow. If I have life I will go and help you because all the Indians invited in all parts to go to San Bernardino may have risen, and here a man called Juan Berno, tells me that the white people waited for me, for that reason I gave these my words and will be ready by Tuesday to leave this for the Pueblo and you will arrange with the white people and Indians and send me your word, nothing more.

Agua Caliente 21st of November 1851.

Another translation signed by Davis and Fitzgerald exists, but it has been altered slightly. Someone has crossed out parts of the original translation and written "the blow has been struck," implying that Estudillo might have been cognizant of Garra's plans prior to their actual inauguration. The San Diego *Herald* printed the altered version on November 27, 1851. A third, but unsigned translation is similar to the initial version.<sup>20</sup>

After Antonio Garra was captured, he made a public confession in which he implicated José Estudillo and Joaquín Ortega in the uprising.<sup>21</sup> Estudillo never offered a public explanation. Joaquín Ortega, however, felt obliged to do so, and as a consequence submitted a public denial of the accusations to the *San Diego Herald*, which appeared in the edition of January 10, 1852.<sup>22</sup>

Garra was captured and brought to San Diego January 8, 1852, where he was arraigned on charges of treason, murder, and robbery. A "Military Court Martial," consisting of "Maj. Gen. Bean, Maj. M. Norton, Maj. Santiago E. Arguello, Lt. Hooper, and Lt. Tilghman, with Cave J. Coutts as Judge Advocate," found Garra guilty of murder and theft, and sentenced him to be shot. He was executed at 4:30 P.M., Saturday, January 10, 1852, in Old Town, San Diego, having been sentenced at 3:00 P.M. of the same day.<sup>23</sup>

The "Court Martial" could not refrain from expressing an opinion about the accusations made by Antonio Garra against Don José Antonio Estudillo and Don Joaquín Ortega. The following opinion was published in the *San Diego Herald* on January 17, 1852:<sup>24</sup>

Everything that has come before the Court shows conclusively, that Antonio Garra is himself the author of this slander; that no papers were found in the Coyotes confirmatory of the connection of any Californians with the Indians; (as published in the *San Diego Herald*;) and that these gentlemen now stand in our community as they have always, in our highest estimation; and that this opinion be published in the "Alto [*sic*] California," the "Los Angeles Star," and "San Diego Herald."

In the interim, William Marshall had been caught, tried in San Diego, and hanged on December 13, 1851, denying his guilt to the end. He admitted knowing that the four Americans were to be murdered at Agua Caliente, and that he had made no effort to warn them.<sup>25</sup>

At Los Coyotes, an Indian mountain camp inland from San Diego, four of Garra's accomplices had been captured and tried. Juan Bautista or Cotón, Jacobo or Qui-sil, and Luis E. Alcalde, all of Agua Caliente, and Francisco Mocate, chief of the *ranchería* San Ysidro were convicted of murder, arson, and robbery by a "War Council" which convened on December 23, 1851.<sup>26</sup> They were executed at Los Coyotes immediately. Garra's uprising ended in the death of all involved Indian leaders.

That the Cupeños rose against unjust taxation there seems little doubt, but it is not clear how the decision to tax the Indians was reached for such a move seems quite unjust. At any rate the sheriff of San Diego, Agoston Haraszthy was authorized by the state attorney general in a letter dated August 20, 1851, to collect taxes from Christianized Indians "owning ranches" in San Diego County.<sup>27</sup> The fact that Warner had been elected to serve in the state legislature, representing San Diego in 1851, may have had some bearing on this situation, but there would appear to be no real proof, one way or the other. Besides Warner utilized Indian labor on his ranch and would have stood to gain little by incurring their animosity at this time.

What exactly did the state attorney general mean when he authorized the sheriff to collect taxes from Christianized Indians "owning ranches," in San Diego County? Did these Indians, who had been exposed to western technology and civilization for approximately eighty years, own the ranch they were working? What about Warner's grant to the entire valley? The answer is very simple: no one knew then who owned what property in California. Warner was working part of the valley and presumably paying the hated land tax on that which he was using. Apparently the people in San Diego felt that if the Indians were using land, running stock, and competing in business with the whites,<sup>28</sup> they should share the burden of taxation.

Warner was not the first to possess a grant to San José Valley. After the Mission of San Luis Rey had ceased to occupy the land, Silvestre de la Portilla received a grant to part of the valley in 1836. In 1840 Antonio Pico solicited the grant of the northern portion of the valley, having occupied it previously with three herds of grazing horses. Because of the overt hostility of the Indians, he was compelled to abandon the ranch about 1842. He had completed a house subsequent to receiving the grant, and it was standing when he was forced to leave. All save the Indians had abandoned the San José Valley before Warner petitioned for it in 1844.<sup>29</sup>

Possibly Garra led the uprising of 1851 to protest taxation without representation,<sup>30</sup> as the Indian had no vote. If this were the case, his decision to do so was unwise. The representatives of the southern faction at the California Constitutional Convention in 1849 fought to obtain the franchise for the Christianized Indians. Twice during the



course of the convention Pablo de la Guerra of Santa Barbara attempted to introduce an amendment that would allow at least some portion of the former neophytes a vote. It was pointed out that those Indians who had become successful, who had attained a certain income, had held the right to vote under Mexican law. Although the Californios were unsuccessful in their attempts to write Indian suffrage into the state constitution, they were able to attach an amendment providing that nothing in the constitution should be construed as preventing the legislature "by a two-thirds concurrent vote," from admitting Indians to the vote "in such special cases" as were deemed just and proper.<sup>31</sup> If Garra had exercised better judgment regarding the matter of unjust taxation, he might have prevented many deaths, and perhaps led the way to Indian suffrage in California. Garra chose to lead an uprising rather than pay an unjust tax, a property tax to which all of Southern California was opposed.<sup>32</sup>

In the southern portion of the state the feeling was so strong against taxing property that nearly all the residents were pressing for a separate territory. Levying taxes upon property placed the major tax burden on the southern ranchers, while the wealthy businessmen of the north did not pay a proportionate cost of government. Representatives of the older, southern faction met in Santa Barbara in 1851 to express their dissatisfaction. They felt they were being victimized by political neglect and an inequitable tax structure. They recommended secession and the formation of a separate territory. Both the Ibero-Americans and the Anglo-Americans were as opposed to this form of taxation as were the Indians of Valle de San José.<sup>33</sup>

Frequently scholars have found it convenient to identify with the Indian in matters concerning conflict between Anglo-American and Indian cultures. Such ethnocentric interpretations, however, tend to avoid considering the possibility that the Indian may have considered the encroachment of the Anglo-American an unfriendly act, calling for as severe a reprisal as his limited technology would allow. This is not to imply that the Anglo-American did not, in fact, commit unfriendly acts in California. Admittedly, many Anglo-American acts could only be interpreted as hostile, but it is difficult to build a syllogistic argument in which the primal cause of conflict is attributable to the initial depredation of the Anglo-American, unless the western migration be con-

sidered a social crime. It is unrealistic to evaluate the Anglo-American's position in California except in relation to the general aura of conflict produced by his migration into California. The Indian interpreted this migration as a threat to his culture, and responded accordingly. An interpretation of the conflict between the Anglo-American and the Indian which tends to romanticize the Indian at the expense of the Anglo-American culture may be lacking in perspective. With the metamorphosis of California in 1849, competition became the key to survival. In the subsequent chaos, Anglo-American, Ibero-American, and Indian vied for ascendancy, and homicide was prevalent. The Garra uprising is an example of this fight for survival in a primitive, highly competitive environment.

#### NOTES

1. Sherburne Friend Cook, *The Conflict Between The California Indian And White Civilization in Ibero-Americana*, Vol. III: *The American Invasion, 1848-1870*, No. 23 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1943), *passim*.

2. Cook, *American Invasion*, p. 3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History Of California* (San Francisco: The Historical Company, 1888), VI, 3, 158-159. Bancroft estimates the number of Anglo-Americans in California after 1845 but before the gold rush to be over 6,000; and the number of Ibero-Americans during the same period to be over 7,000. He states that the population in California excluding the Indian at the close of 1849 was approximately 95,000. According to Bancroft's estimates there were between 3,000 and 4,000 Indians in and around the towns and ranchos of California after 1845 but before the gold rush.

3. John Walton Caughey (ed.), *The Indians Of Southern California In 1852: The B. D. Wilson Report And A Selection Of Contemporary Comment* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1952), p. 23. The report was submitted in 1852 by Benjamin Davis Wilson, Indian subagent for Southern California and is reproduced in its entirety.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 22. They had been trained as masons, carpenters, plasterers, soap-makers, tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, cooks, brick-makers, carters, weavers, spinners, saddlers, shepherds, agriculturists, horticulturists, *viñeros*, and *vaqueros*.

5. Cook, *American Invasion*, p. 3.

6. *Los Angeles Star*, August 14, 1852. An anonymous contributor made the following observations: "I regard the policy pursued by Agents of the General Government towards our Indians as being at war with the interests of the people and

of the Indians themselves. . . . It has led to the abandonment of the ranchos and pueblos by the Indians almost entirely, each petty chief calling in the straggling members of his tribe from fields of labor, to swell his own importance by a show of numbers. Such is the case with the Cahuillas and their Chief, Juan Antonio, and other tribes. The policy referred to, by affording sufficient provisions to the Indians to live upon without work, has created a grand 'fiesta'; and the Indian servants have generally left their employers to gather to the festival; and idleness and consequent crime and outrage will be the result. Indian leaders are rising in their own importance and that of their people; tribes which had ceased to exist [through a process of amalgamation and acculturation] are being collected together from all the neighboring ranchos and pueblos, and by concentration becoming more formidable. The very feeding of them by the government, without the necessity of work, has become the most potent cause of their being daily rendered more formidable."

7. *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), December 18, 1851.

8. *San Diego Herald*, December 18, 1851.

9. The Diegueños were of Yuman linguistic stock while the Luiseños and Cahuillas were of Shoshonean. The Diegueño name for Agua Caliente was Hakupin, while the Cahuillas called it Kupa. Modern ethnologists have accepted the latter name and refer to the Indians from this area as Cupeños.

10. Also called San José del Valle and Warner's Ranch.

11. Joseph J. Hill, *The History Of Warner's Ranch And Its Environs* (Los Angeles: privately printed, 1927), pp. 121-134.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102. After settling in California, Warner changed his name from Jonathan Trumbull Warner to Juan José Warner because there was no Spanish equivalent to Trumbull. To the Americans he was known as J. J. Warner. By the Indians and other Spanish speaking people of the area he was frequently called Juan Largo (Long John), presumably because he was six foot, three inches tall. In official documents his name was sometimes written "Juan Guarner." Occasionally he signed his name "Juan G. Warner."

13. By the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed February 2, 1848, it was necessary to protect property rights of Mexican citizens in that portion of the country which had been ceded to the United States. To accomplish this task a commission was created by an Act of Congress on March 3, 1851, the duty of which was to pass judgment on the validity of the various claims. The opinion of the Board of Commissioners concerning Warner's Ranch included a description of the property which is reproduced in Hill, *Warner's Ranch*, pp. 145-146. The northern end of the valley is referred to as either San José or Agua Caliente. It should be noted, however, that there was a Diegueño village in the area called San José. See Caughey, *Wilson Report*, p. 17.

14. *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), December 27, 1851; Hill, *Warner's Ranch*, p. 127. In his diary Benjamin Hayes remarks, "In past times, Indians have annoyed him a good deal. This is one reason why he has made so little. Once they

stole all his horses and mules. . . ." "A controversy has existed for some length of time between them and Mr. Warner, concerning the little vineyard they are in possession of," states the *San Diego Herald*, December 18, 1851.

15. *San Diego Herald*, December 18, 1851. Taken from Garra's published confession.

16. "Proceedings of a Council of War convened in the Valley Los Coyotes," December 23, 1851, National Archives MSS, RG 98, H-4, from Samuel P. Heintzelman, Capt. 2nd Inf., Bvt. Major, to Headquarters, Division of the Pacific, received January 18, 1852 (copy in my possession), *passim*. Some of the other Indians mentioned, as having participated in the slaying of Manning were José Luis, Bonifacio, Román, José and Jacobo or Qui-sil.

17. *San Diego Herald*, December 18, 1851.

18. "War Council Proceedings," p. 4. These men are referred to as Slack, Fiddler, and Ridgeley. Their full names are unknown.

19. *San Diego Herald*, November 27, 1851, December 11, 1851, December 25, 1851, January 1, 1851, [*sic*, should read 1852], January 5, 1852, and January 10, 1852.

20. All of the original translations were found by June Reading in the collection of the Whaley House Historical Museum, San Diego, California.

21. *San Diego Herald*, December 18, 1851. The confession of Antonio Garra was made at Rancho del Chino, California, on December 13, 1851, in the presence of "Capt. Lovell, U.S.A., Gen. Bean, Col. Williams, Major Myra Norton, and W. H. Rand"

22. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1852. It reads in part as follows: "On the 11th of October, the Indians arrived at my rancho of Santa Maria, and told me that they wished to celebrate their favorite feast of the 'Gavian,' I told them I had no objection to their feast, and they commenced dancing at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. They applied to me for something to eat, and having nothing else to offer them, I sent for four calves that were tied near my house, gave them to the Indians and told them to make themselves [unable to read remainder of sentence]. The day following, I told them that they must finish the feast that night, as the next day I was going to Santa Barbara, with several others from San Diego, in order to hold a Convention. That others from Los Angeles, San Luis Obispo and Monterey, would also be there, and our object was to petition Government for a Division of Territory; that we who were living in the Southern Country, unable without a sacrifice to pay our taxes, might get relief, and that they must remain peaceable and quiet; and get into no difficulties which might affect the Government in an unfriendly manner towards them. With this I left them.

The tribe who had the feast were Diegainos and have ever remained quiet and friendly, conformably to the instructions I gave them—*Antonio Garra was not at the feast, nor were any of the Agua Caliente Indians.*

My reason for cautioning the Indians to be quiet and behave themselves properly, was because I knew that they felt aggrieved at the levy upon them for taxes."



[All spelling and punctuation errors occur in the published letter.]

23. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1852.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1851, December 18, 1851.

26. "War Council Proceedings," *passim*. The trial was carefully recorded by 1st Lt. John Hamilton. Those present were listed as follows: Bvt. Lt. Col. John Bankhead Magruder, Bvt. Major Samuel P. Heintzelman, 1st Lt. Francis Engel Patterson, 1st Lt. John Hamilton, 2nd Lt. Adam J. Slemmer, Capt. Delozier Davidson, 1st Lt. Edwin Murray, Surg. John E. Summers, 2nd Lt. James W. Frazer, and the U. S. Commissioner and Indian Agent for California, Dr. Oliver Meredith Wozencraft.

27. *San Diego Herald*, December 18, 1851.

28. Hill, *Warner's Ranch*, p. 129. These Indians were not penniless. Hayes reports that they were paying Marshall one dollar per pint for *aguardiente*.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 144, *et passim*.

30. June Reading, "New Light On The Garra Uprising," Paper read before the First Annual San Diego Historical Conference, San Diego, California, March 20, 1965.

31. Woodrow James Hansen, *The Search For Authority In California* (Oakland, California: Biobooks, 1960), pp. 121-122, 153-154. "Under the Constitution of 1836 the franchise was limited to persons with an income of at least 100 pesos. In 1852, the Bases Orgánicas required each voter to possess an income of 200 pesos.

32. Caughey, *Wilson Report*, p. 32. *San Diego Herald*, December 18, 1851. Garra's confession was published in this edition. He stated that he took this course of action so that he might avenge himself for the "payment of taxes, which have been demanded of the Indian tribes. The Indians think the collection of taxes from them a very unjust measure." Also there is some mention of the matter in a letter from Samuel P. Heintzelman, Capt. 2nd Inf., Bvt. Major, to Lt. Col. Hooker, Asst. Adjt. Gen'l., U.S.A., Sonoma, California, November 28, 1851, received December 5, 1851, National Archives MSS, RG 98, H-17 (copy in my possession). He states "There has been ill will of long standing between Mr. Warner and the indians of Agua Caliente, aggravated by the taxes collected from the indians in this county & the killing of men at Los Angeles recently. There has also been great dissatisfaction amongst the Californians at the heavy taxes"

33. *San Diego Herald*, July 24, 1851, August 28, 1851, September 9, 1851, and September 11, 1851. Heintzelman to Hooker, November 28, 1851. Agoston Haraszthy, the sheriff who attempted to enforce the tax laws on the Indians in San Diego County, was a strong separatist leader, contributing a lengthy article to the *San Diego Herald*, July 24, 1851, in which he summarized the various complaints. According to the *San Diego Herald*, September 11, 1851, Haraszthy was elected to the state assembly as a strong separatist. In the *San Diego Herald*, August 28, 1851, a rumor is reported to the effect that some of the rancheros had been compelled to mortgage their property in order to pay their taxes.

## NEW BOOKS

*The Western Hero in History and Legend.* By Kent L. Steckmesser. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965. 281 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

This debut publication by Professor Kent L. Steckmesser, a member of the history department, California State College, Los Angeles, is a revision of his doctoral thesis (University of Chicago, 1960). Its appearance is an occasion for celebration. This is a brilliant book, superbly conceived, immaculately researched, strategically executed, gracefully written. It is a testament to the growing influence of the American Studies approach which has increasingly expanded the canvas of history: the book blends history and literature with commensurate skill. Although the pioneer effort which first explored this scholarly integration on the contemporary scene, Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (1950), undoubtedly inspired Steckmesser in his own study, nevertheless, *The Western Hero in History and Legend* has greatly extended and enriched the subject of myth and legend in American thought and writing by adding significant corrective and purgative dimensions to our existing knowledge. This book may not please the confirmed Western "buff," but it will stimulate, provoke, and delight the American West scholar.

To sustain the basic conclusions of his book which are expounded in the last chapter, "The Hero in History and Legend," the author utilizes four "case" studies, one each drawn from a prototype which is associated in the popular mind as an image of the American West: the mountain man, Kit Carson; the outlaw, Billy the Kid; the gunfighter, Wild Bill Hickok; the soldier, George Armstrong Custer. In each of these studies, Steckmesser provides first a biographical chapter, rooted in essential historical sources, then turns to the exploration of the "legendary themes" which surround the *real* man's life, clouded though they are in the mists of fiction and public fantasy, and concludes each treatment with a brittle critique that is skillful, but surgical: he replaces corroded notions with healthy evaluations; he renews history at the expense of accepted legend; he repairs overdrawn truth with circumspect reflection. Each of the four "case" studies is sustained by an extensive bibliography appropriately divided into three categories: the historical, the legend, and general references. Surely no one will disagree with the author's conclusion that "These heroic [Western] narratives are valuable as a record of American aspirations and traditions," nor that "They are also valuable as case studies in the legend-making process, perhaps more so than as sources of factual information about the history of the West." (One could question whether "legend-making" works have reliable "factual information.")

However, this reviewer would raise a singular question. The author has chosen for his study what might be called the most obvious or convenient "case" per-

sonalities. It would appear that choice was dictated by the size of the popularity of the legend and the quantity of the existing body of published literature. This is understandable. But to draw larger conclusions, it would seem that more prototypes should have been included, the sampling increased. Perhaps the title of the book would have been more appropriate if it had read, *Four Western Heroes in History and Legend*.

A further point: This reviewer would have more heartily agreed with Kit Carson as the prototype of the scout, but hardly the mountain man. Carson's fame, unless I misread the sources and literature, is popularly identified as a frontiersman and/or scout. The same query could be applied to Hickok: gun-fighter or lawman? There is no argument with Bonney, the outlaw; and Custer, the soldier.

Lastly, the author could have well included "case" studies of the "legend-making process" for the Indian, the hunter, the trail guide, the farmer, miner, railroad builder, capitalist, politician, women (plain and fancy), and the movie star among his prototypes. All are historical and all have a body of available legend literature in varying degrees.

In enlarging the selection of possible "legend-making" studies along the lines suggested by Professor Steckmesser, one is brought back sharply to the overwhelming basic question—is there a Western hero per se, or is the Western hero merely in the pattern of regional heroes which have appeared in American history from colonial times down to the present? If so what are the similarities and where do the patterns differ. What is unique, if anything, about a Western hero? The author suggests this very point in his introductory discussion of Daniel Boone.

Perhaps the talented author of this book under review will pursue the theme of history and legend and one day provide us with a more definitive treatment. Until that day, he has assuredly left his mark in this premier effort.

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*The California Star: Yerba Buena and San Francisco—Volume I, 1847-1848, a Reproduction in Facsimile.* Introduction by Fred Blackburn Rogers. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1965. 212 pp. \$20.00.) Reviewed by Helen Harding Bretnor.

The simple announcement of this publication should be enough for students of California history and for all libraries which emphasize it. San Francisco's first newspaper has hitherto been available only in major collections, and in very few at that; full files are prized possessions of the Bancroft Library, the California State Library, and the Huntington Library, with partial files reported by the California Historical Society, the Historian's Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the Library of Congress. To produce the present volume, all of these copies were filmed and then enlarged again to the size of

the original, and from these the best individual pages were chosen for reproduction. The result is a handsome volume, considerably more legible, much easier to handle, and—best of all—far more readily available than the original newspapers, for now any library, public or private, can have for twenty dollars something which even great libraries could not procure for thousands. Colonel Rogers has furnished a lively and informative introduction outlining the origin of the paper and the careers of the men involved: Sam Brannan, its founder, and Edward C. Kemble, its major editor. He includes the identifications of some of those who contributed under pseudonyms, and he suggests additional readings. For convenience, he has given consecutive numbers to the newspaper pages and added a selective index. "An Extra in Advance of the California Star," first reproduced in Colonel Rogers' *A Kemble Reader*, is included, as is the second extra, reprinted in the *Millennial Star* of Liverpool. Only one copy is known of the advance extra dated October 24, 1846; no original has been found of the second extra, January 1, 1847.

In spite of its small size (four pages per issue, the body of type measuring 8" x 12"), the *California Star* contained "all the news that was fit to print"—and some, as was usual in those days of highly personal journalism, which perhaps was not. Elbert P. Jones, the paper's waspish first editor, occasionally, as Colonel Rogers points out, used its columns for personal vituperation. This, however, does not diminish the importance of the news it reported, the interest of the period it reflects, or its present value as a source. This first year of weekly publication, from January 9, 1847, to January 1, 1848, saw Yerba Buena become San Francisco, as California turned from Mexican to Yankee rule, saw the village on the magnificent harbor grow from twenty-five houses and a population of about 150 when the *Brooklyn* arrived in July of 1846 to 157 buildings and 459 residents when Edward Gilbert took his census a year later. This census was carefully broken down into numerous classifications, according to age groups (more than four-fifths were less than forty years of age, and half were between twenty and forty), place of birth (three-fifths from the United States, and another fifth had resided there for a time), sex (321 males, 138 females), occupations and places of business (a wide spectrum, including twenty-six carpenters and one school teacher), and literacy (273 who could read and write, 13 who could read but not write, and 89 who could do neither—the last number being about equal to those under ten years of age). The record of literacy is of particular interest in connection with Kemble's later recollection that the newspaper had between three and four hundred subscribers. This may, of course, be accounted for by a notice appearing in the fifth issue, of February 6, 1847, in which those wanting back numbers to send abroad are warned that they must subscribe, both for themselves and for friends.

Major news stories concerned later reports of the Mexican War and eyewitness accounts of its echoes in California, though these were often delayed by lack of direct communication; the Battle of San Pascual, occurring on the



8th of December, 1846, was first reported on February 6, 1847, the account being taken from the Honolulu *Polynesian*. Kemble's firsthand account of "The Affair of the Salinaeus," a battle which took place on November 14, 1846, in the Salinas Valley, was not printed until the following August 21, partly because Kemble did not return from the southern campaign until April and then was otherwise occupied, and partly because his first article on the subject, written in July, was "crowded out by other important matter." Where the "washerwomen's telegraph" was active, perhaps it was not necessary to print news everyone had heard. On January 16 Jones reported, in vague and general terms, the conclusion of the Los Angeles campaign, ending with the statement: "We do not pretend to say, that the above information is correct, we have received it as we have many other reports in circulation, in the place, and publish it as such." The same issue contained the first report of the plight of the Donner Party, followed in subsequent numbers by the unfolding story in the immediacy of its tragedy and heroism.

So much of interest and importance happened in this year of 1847 that it would be useful to have the *Californian* also as easily available for comparison. Perhaps eventually it will be. In any event, a splendid contribution has been made by this publication. It is to be hoped that the reception of this volume will encourage Colonel Rogers and Howell-North Books to proceed with the publication of Volume Two, in which the two newspapers were joined, and which shows so clearly the impact of the discovery of gold.

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*Naval Documents of The American Revolution: Volume I, American Theater, December 1, 1774-September 2, 1775; European Theater, December 6, 1774-August 9, 1775.* Edited by William Bell Clark. Foreword by President John F. Kennedy. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964. 1451 pp. \$9.00.) Reviewed by Russell Caldwell.

Since the last century, forty-five volumes of Naval Documents have appeared under the auspices of the Navy. As publishing ventures, they have worked backwards in time. These include the Civil War, Barbary Wars, the Quasi-War with France, and now the first in a projected fifteen volumes for the American Revolution.

This latest volume is superlative, setting a new standard of excellence even for the talented personnel of the Naval History Division. Departing spectacularly from previous volumes, this work is a foretaste of the enormous possibilities of the computer age for research. Indeed, as the Introduction makes clear, a veritable naval task force was turned loose on this volume. A good thing it was, too, as the awesome scope of the project revealed itself. Dr. William J. Morgan, head of the Historical Research Section of the Naval History Division, quite flatly says that "It will take us four volumes to reach the Declaration of Independence."

The Navy was undaunted, however. William Bell Clark, the able editor, offered the explanation that "A fortunate conjunction of wisdom, men, and money soon made it possible to start the vast undertaking."

To the collections in Washington, especially the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, were added original letters and documents from one coast to the other and overseas among the nations, from private collections and public archives of this country and Europe. English accounts are placed in juxtaposition with American events and British aims and strategy. Incidents are recorded which have been unknown or misunderstood by American writers. Among the many such are records of prize-taking which exist nowhere else. There is some necessary and often enlightening overlapping of military and maritime history.

Almost 90 percent of the pagination is devoted to a well-ordered reproduction of the manifold documents. A most useful list of appendices provides ship clearances and manifests. The bibliography is compact but convincing. In every sense, the index is thorough, professional, and a highly important aspect of this work. The contemporary illustrations, 148 of them, range from engravings and well-selected portraits to cartoons.

Above all, this is something more than a book of documents. It is a panoramic and exciting picture of wide-ranging yet related and highly interlocking events. What might have been simply the massive recording of miniscule detail becomes here instead a cinerama of moving sail, amphibious movements of men seeking their destiny, the fury of mobs, cries for assistance and supplies, committees of safety, and selectmen determining their next moves, and British press gangs of sailors "who were as hardened and inhuman as Turks."

Subsequent volumes of this series, if they follow the pattern of this first one, will make necessary the rewriting of all histories of the American Revolution. President John F. Kennedy suggests as much in the foreword he wrote under the date of July 4, 1963. Appropriately, this volume is addressed to him "In Memoriam," based on several paragraphs of the Kennedy rhetoric expressing the gratefulness he personally felt for all those who from the beginning have come to "the defense of freedom in its hour of maximum danger."

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*Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870.* By Gunther Barth. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1964. 305 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by Stanford M. Lyman.

Professor Barth's book is a welcome addition to the recent but growing literature on Chinese in America. For many years those interested in the subject almost had to rely on either Mary Coolidge's spirited and Sinophilic *Chinese Immigration* (1909), or Elmer Sandmeyer's more detached account, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1939). In general, works on the Chinese have suffered from one of two basic distortions. They were either overzealous in portraying Chinese simply as the undeserving victims of racist demagogues and

unscrupulous white capitalists, or they accepted the one-sided arguments of the Sinophobes and regarded the Chinese as inimical to labor and morals. The general climate of racial tolerance since the end of World War II has stilled the xenophobic voices almost completely but unintentionally give unwarranted credence to a so-called 'liberal' interpretation. Thus, Mrs. Coolidge's refusal to regard Chinese merchants as any different from American petit-bourgeois entrepreneurs has gone virtually unchallenged except by racists, and recent works, such as Richard Dillon's colorful *Hatchet Men*, reinforce that myth. Similarly, excessive filiopietism mars Ping Chiu's *Chinese Labor in California* and S. W. Kung's *Chinese in American Life*. On the other hand, Rose Hum Lee's *Chinese in the United States of America* suffers from a roseate view of assimilation that fails to comprehend the issues before the nonassimilated Chinese minority. Harold Isaacs' *Scratches on our Minds*, Kwang Chiu's *Americans and Chinese*, and Professor Barth's study are each in their own way scholarly works that rise above the view that American history is a kind of vicissitudinal morality play depicting the opposed forces of Absolute Good and Absolute Evil, total assimilation and total prejudice.

Professor Barth's thesis is that rather than a direct confrontation, the early contact of Chinese and Californians emerged as an abrasive encounter between two peoples with quite divergent aims. The forty-niners who came to California were intent on realizing an idealized America free of the twin evils of fettered labor and unscrupulous exploitation. The Chinese who crossed the perilous Pacific wished to sojourn only long enough at the "Golden Mountain" to acquire a competence sufficient to retire without worry in their native village. To the Americans fleeing from both slavery and abolitionism, the Chinese, even more than Indians, Mexicans, Negroes, and "foreigners," reminded them of those features of the United States they wished to avoid. To the Chinese the temporary, onerous burden of indentured servitude on the American frontier was a price worth paying in return for the envisioned comforts of an honorable and secure old age, surrounded by admiring kinsmen and respectful offspring. Independent miners and—later—Irish, Scandinavian, and other Anglo-Saxon trade unionists regarded the seemingly docile Chinese as anathema. On the other hand, certain capitalists and agriculturalists viewed the Chinese as a race eligible for the very treatment that believers in the California dream did not wish to inflict on white laborers, American or foreign. A few Catholic and several Protestant missionaries regarded the Chinese as worthy of special efforts in proselytism. Not all the Chinese were debt-ridden laboring sojourners. A merchant elite among them held their indenture and controlled their labor, domestic life, and departure. The work camps and Chinatowns, emblematic respectively of the servile control and social distance of the Chinese from other settlers in "El Dorado," excited the attention and aggression of the latter and reinforced the already closed society of Chinese California.

Chinese California, as Barth designates the network of control over Chinese



in the state, consisted primarily of the associations established by the merchant elite that encompassed Chinese life. Clans and *hui kuans*, representing, respectively, the lineage and the territory, tribe, or language of the immigrants, enrolled nearly all the Chinese who came to the state. Secret societies, chapters of or modeled after the mainland Triad Society, formed the basis for opposition to the clan-*hui-kuan* oligarchy and also controlled gambling and prostitution, vital aspects of the homeless Chinese man's lonely sojourn. The relations between these associations were fraught with conflict, and they were not above co-opting elements of the uncomprehending larger society as unwitting accomplices to their feuds. Professor Barth describes all of this with painstaking attention to detail and documentation, and yet he never loses sight of his point: Chinese California shut itself out from the mainstream of American life at the same time that its denizens contributed to the development of the American West. His is the first published study of the Chinese in the United States to comprehend the complex origins, as well as the poignancy, of Chinatown's isolation.

Barth's duodecennial history concludes with his argument that the forces which spawned Chinese California began to erode after 1870. "Acculturation," in the form of conversion to Christianity, did not occur in numbers enough to encourage the missionary's zeal or to dampen the nativism of white Californians, but the learning of English and tool adaptation indicated the selective interest of the Chinese. The movement of Chinese beyond California—the importation of Chinese into the southern states is but one of the revelations from Professor Barth's indefatigable research—escalated the "Chinese problem" to a national issue but also weakened traditional controls over them and encouraged individuals to convert from sojourners to immigrants. Unfortunately, this *dénouement* is the weakest part of the argument and the least validated by the evidence. In fact, the net effect of nationalizing the Chinese issue was to exclude the Chinese from immigrating to the United States, from naturalization, and from realizing the benefits of trade unionism. Excluded from citizenship, prevented from procreating offspring in America, and barred from corporations, public works, free professions, and union membership, the steadily aging and diminishing population of Chinese was forced more and more behind the invisible walls of Chinatown and its benevolently despotic elites. Not until after 1930 was the sex ratio sufficiently balanced to permit normal domestic life and the birth of a substantial second generation. Chinatown survived Sinophobia; it is threatened today by equal opportunity and assimilation.

The anachronistic conclusion to Barth's work should not detract from its otherwise excellent presentation. His detailed description of social life and labor among the early Chinese is unsurpassed in other available accounts. Although Barth's distinctions between the Chinese terms, *hui*, *hui kuan*, and *kongsi*, might not satisfy the Sinologist seeking etymological exactitude, they are enough to make his analysis clear and to suggest that Chinese probably used certain roughly equivalent terms interchangeably. Bibliography and footnotes are excellent and,



although Barth might have been better served by an editor who obviated certain wordy obfuscations and the redundant "match-cutting" that connects chapters, his is an altogether fine contribution to history, Sinology, and sociology.

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*Forts of the West.* By Robert W. Frazer. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965. 246 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by Harwood P. Hinton.

The recent interest in military history, stimulated perhaps by the expanding efforts of the National Park Service to mark, stabilize, and reconstruct historic sites, has resulted in a number of books dealing with American forts. Unlike previous works, *Forts of the West* focuses on the twenty-two states lying west of the Mississippi, and more precisely on some four hundred posts erected or occupied in that region by militia or army groups between Spanish times and 1898. No attempt is made to include trading forts or stockades and blockhouses occasionally used by settlers. Compiled primarily from published materials, and presented in a factual, conveniently arranged manner, these biographies should prove a valuable reference tool to both students and librarians.

In a perceptive introductory essay, Professor Robert Frazer discusses the role forts played in the winning of the West. The principal reason for their establishment was to control the Indian, particularly during the period, 1845-1880, when they protected overland routes, served as bases for exploring expeditions and Indian campaigns, and furnished police for newly established reservations. With the completion of the transcontinentals, this era ended, and by 1897 only about one third were near Indian lands. Elsewhere in his discussion, Frazer comments on the confusion over the terms "camp" and "fort." Although the government decreed in 1832 that the term fort would be used for new posts in the West, succeeding years saw the name camp become popular. An order in 1878 that "intent of permanence" would determine the designation also availed little. Forts became camps or depots, military correspondence used the terms interchangeably, and local citizens continued to label the neighboring installation as a fort.

The section listing the Western posts is arranged alphabetically by state, with the forts in each also appearing alphabetically. Devoting a half to two pages to each sketch, Frazer gives the date of and reason for establishing the post, location, name and source of name, military units stationed there, and date of abandonment or present status. A map precedes each state showing the posts mentioned. Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Kansas had the most posts, while Arkansas, Idaho, Utah, and Minnesota had the least. Omissions do occur: Arizona (Camp Wallen), Texas (Camp Colorado). There are several errors. Recent scholarship indicates that Major Enoch Steen (not Major Blake) established Fort Buchanan in the Gadsden Strip. And one wonders about the Butterfield Overland going to Denver (p. 58). However, considering the magnitude of the project, these items are minor.

Concluding parts to the volume include an appendix with a listing (incom-

plete) or forts erected and used during the Civil War, a thirty-seven page bibliography of published materials (principally to 1963), and a general index. Besides the twenty-two state maps, there are eight pictures of army posts.

*Forts of the West*, a competently prepared work which reflects great credit on author and publisher, is a welcome addition to the field of Western Americana.

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*Golden California*. By Andrew Rolle. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965. 255 pp. \$2.75.) Reviewed by Pamela Bleich.

*Golden State* is a paperback adaptation of Rolle's college textbook *California: a History*. Like the parent volume *Golden State* is a survey of the political, economic, social, and cultural record from the Indians to the present. The work has been designed primarily as a high school textbook "to meet the new state requirements for the secondary-school curriculum in California History." An examination of the book from this point of view is necessary. What are the curriculum requirements? The code requires California History be taught, not as a separate course, but as a part of the United States history and government courses. The state curriculum structure indicates this to be in the eighth and eleventh grades.

Given the handicap of size, this book is a well balanced treatment of the significant events of California History. However, the lack of detail indicates that the classroom teacher will find it necessary to supply that detail through lecture, reports. The author's treatment of the Indians and Japanese-Americans would have been updated more had it included information on the Supreme Court cases of the 1950's and 1960's. In chapters nine and ten the narrative is thin which interrelates the various headed paragraphs dealing with a variety of subjects which in themselves appear to have no relationship to each other than they were events which took place at a certain time. Students will need help in grasping the full picture and bringing it into focus on the events of the 1930's to the present.

The book's scheme follows the traditional textbook end-of-the-chapter "Study Suggestions." The lists of words and names are adequate, but longer lists might be of more help to students in reviewing chapters. It is lamentable that the author was forced to include so many out-of-print and hard-to-find books in his chapter bibliographies. Teachers and students who do not have available libraries with good California collections will find it difficult to use these recommended supplementary readings. Overall, this work has an attractive format, including maps and illustrations. A good index makes items easy to find.

Students will find the narrative readable and easy to follow. The style, vocabulary, and sentence structure is suitable for the senior high school student with a reading ability of ninth grade or above.

*Golden California* will be a most useful aid in teaching California History in senior high school. Students will enjoy its presentation, and teachers will find it a good foundation from which to plan classroom instruction.

*Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of California.* By Remi Nadeau. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1965. 278 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by R. Coke Wood.

Remi Nadeau has written another one of his interesting and informative histories. This one, about the gold rush, ghost towns, and mining camps of California, is not only on the Mother Lode, but on all parts of California. The book is more than a history, it is a fascinating travel guide to these old camps.

The author tells not only of their past glory but what the visitor will find there today, and with instructions on how to reach the camp. In reading these delightful stories and descriptions of these mining camps, the reader is convinced that Nadeau has personally visited all of these ghost towns as well as having searched out the history and stories about personalities from many different little-known and unavailable sources. This is evident by a glance at his bibliography of newspapers. When you see such papers as the *Aurora-Esmeralda Union*, *Bodie Standard*, *Calico Print*, the *Darwin Coso Mining News*, and the *Phylolite Herald* listed as source material, you realize the author has gone to the colorful primary sources for his information.

Anyone planning to visit the old mining camps or the Mother Lode, should have a copy of the book, but also those sitting at home will enjoy visiting these old camps through the pages of Remi Nadeau's book.

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*Twenty Years on the Pacific Slope: Letters of Henry Eno from California and Nevada, 1848-1871.* Edited and with an introduction by W. Turrentine Jackson. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965. 224 pp. \$6.00.) Reviewed by Richard P. Sherman.

Seventy years ago Frederick Jackson Turner wrote about the "buoyant self-confidence and self-assertion" characteristic of the West. Henry Eno exemplified that spirit with an unbroken, optimistic trust in the future that considered lack of success just another step up the ladder to tomorrow's bonanza. Similar to most of his kind he arrived too late, possessed too little capital, and was downright unlucky. Unlike most of his contemporaries he had a good basic education, was trained in the law, collected and read books, and took an active interest in politics.

W. Turrentine Jackson, author of *Wagon Roads West* and *Treasure Hill*, edited this slim volume in the Yale Western Americana Series. The book is divided into two parts, the second consisting of letters from California and Nevada written by Henry Eno to his brother William, plus four or five related items. These letters, from 1848 to 1858 and 1865 to 1871, one must bear in mind, were written as private missives so will appeal to the reader according to his taste. Thus, there may be little concern with Eno's carbuncle or that every morning he brushed his body for five to ten minutes with a horse brush. By contrast his insights into California politics, his predictions on agricultural prospects, and

above all the knowledge he shares with his brother about Mokelumne Hill and, after 1864, Alpine County prove worthwhile contributions. The addition of a map or two (none are included) would have provided a useful aid.

But the letters seem only anticlimactic after reading the first part of the book, a ninety-eight page introduction. In this "Introduction" Professor Jackson goes far beyond the scope of the letters printed in the second part to present a brilliant case study of an uncommon "Western" man. Henry Eno, born and raised in Dutchess County, New York; a lawyer by trade; a strong advocate of organized temperance activities (after winning a long bout with alcoholism) succumbs to "Western fever." Settling at Fort Madison, Wisconsin Territory, he practiced law, got married, showed an interest in land speculation, and played a leading part in organizing a separate Iowa Territory.

In 1849 Eno joined the march to California. During the fall of 1851 he and his wife settled at Mokelumne Hill in Calaveras County. Winning election as county judge he next ran for the office of lieutenant governor on the Whig ticket. In that unsuccessful effort his campaign expenditures totaled \$150.00. Eno's presidency of the Mokelumne Hill and Camp Seco Mining and Water Company and his one-third interest in the Amador Canal left him in debt. Elected judge in newly created Alpine County, he found the salary paid in warrants that often were discounted 50 percent.

Later traveling to the White Pine Mining District in Nevada, he realized he had arrived too late so returned to Alpine County, only soon to leave for a prospecting trip to the mines of the Panamint Range along the western edge of Death Valley. Journeying to San Francisco, there taken seriously ill, he finally leaves California in 1871, at age seventy-three, to return to New York.

In this account Professor Jackson has used rare skill in blending the multitude of forces motivating one man's move westward, the consistent optimism, the persistent failure, into a well-documented narrative, made even more effective in the ever-present contrast offered by Henry's brother William—the brother who stayed home and prospered.

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*The Mountain Men and The Fur Trade of The Far West: Volume II, Biographical Sketches of the Participants by Scholars of the Subject and with Introductions by the Editor.* Edited by LeRoy R. Hafen. (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965. 401 pp. \$14.50.) Reviewed by D. E. Livingston-Little.

This is the second of six projected volumes containing short biographical accounts of the mountain men—participants in the fur trade. The sketches are from one to twenty-five pages in length, depending on the importance of the subject and the information available. The five or six volumes contemplated will vary in length from about three hundred seventy-five to four hundred pages each and will contain biographical sketches of about four hundred mountain men.

This total volume, as noted above, is 401 pages long, and contains biographies



of thirty-seven persons, written by twenty-two authors. Although most of the authorities contributed but a single sketch, several wrote three or four, which seems appropriate and logical since the careers of many of the mountain men overlapped or duplicated one another for considerable periods. In fact, one of the editor's more difficult jobs is to be certain that none of the thirty-seven stories conflict with each other in any detail. Another of the editor's duties, of course, is to try to achieve some uniformity among the many accounts. Some of the subjects are virtually unknown, while others have been the object of book length biographies. A little cogitation about this will lead to a recognition of the one inherent fault of the entire undertaking: the biographical sketches are often longest for the mountain men who are already best known, shortest about those who are least known. It would be redundant to explain further, but the obvious result is a tendency to compound rather than to correct the existing deficiencies. Despite this inherent problem, the undertaking is commendable and deserves applause by all western history buffs and experts. The mountain men were the principal precursors of the Westward Movement of last century, and the more one can know of their lives, the better one knows and understands the American West during that critical period from the Lewis & Clark Expedition to the American Civil War. In addition, the sketches are generally well written, having in several instances some literary merit as well as professional interest and entertainment value to the reader. The editor has presumably asked an outstanding student or authority to write of each man, and one hopes the research is as complete in all cases as it certainly is in some.

The volume is attractively printed and bound, and contains pictures of all the subjects of whom pictures are known to exist. No index is included: it will appear in the final volume and cover the entire series. Though it would be impractical, even if possible, to include an index in each volume, it would be possible and even practical to include a map of the fur trading west in each volume rather than only in volume one.

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*John Muir and the Sierra Club.* By Holway R. Jones. (San Francisco: Sierra Club. 1965. 207 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Francis P. Farquhar.

This is the first volume of a projected history of the Sierra Club from its founding in 1892 to the present time. It covers the early years of the Club so thoroughly that the author, or his successor, will be hard put to it to produce a comparable volume. But although the first ten or fifteen years of the Sierra Club's existence were filled with conservation activities of vital import, there have been many years of continuance of equal importance, and it is to be hoped that their story will be told with equal clarity and precision. For the founding of the Sierra Club and the struggles in which it engaged are of national significance and never more than today do the lessons learned need to be brought to public attention.

The central figure in the founding of the club and in these early struggles was

the great naturalist John Muir. First place in the title rightfully belongs to him; and the subtitle, "The Battle for Yosemite," indicates the field in which he and his associates worked with patriotic, almost religious ardor. Reading the pages, one realizes what a catastrophe was averted by the efforts of these men. Yosemite Valley was very close to despoliation by selfish and ignorant interests when Muir led the way to its establishment as part of a great National Park. Not all that was hoped for was accomplished—the fight to preserve Hetch Hetchy Valley in pristine condition was lost—but even the losses have served as precedents for even greater efforts on later occasions.

It is fortunate that Holway Jones undertook the work on this history when he did, for the immense amount of documentary material required guidance from those leaders of the Sierra Club who were still available. Greatest of all, of course, was the late William S. Colby, whose close association with John Muir has given added authenticity to the record. The illustrations are of great value historically as well as being highly ornamental. Aside from its importance as a historical record with adequate interpretation, the book is a handsome one to behold and well worthy of a place on the library table.

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*Documents of California's Catholic History.* By Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1965. 364 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by Clifford M. Drury.

This volume contains a selection of sixty-five documents bearing on the history of the Roman Catholic Church in California during the 179-year period, 1784-1963. The list begins with the last report of Father Junípero Serra on the condition of the Mission San Carlos Borromeo, July 1, 1784, and closes with an address given at a reception held in San Diego in September, 1963, when Bishop J. Furey was welcomed as Bishop of San Diego. In between these dates are documents bearing upon such pertinent subjects as the secularization of the missions, the history of the Pious Fund, the status of the Church in California during the gold-rush days, the efforts made to restore the missions, the benevolent and educational institutions of the Church within the state, and the church's activities in Nevada.

This excellent collection of documents throws light not only upon the history of the Roman Catholic Church within the state but also upon a great variety of subjects related to the secular history of the state. The documents selected include copies of papal bulls, pastoral letters, newspaper articles, addresses, memoirs, and statistical reports. The volume is designed to be the first in a trilogy dealing with the sources of California's Catholic heritage.

Father Francis J. Weber, the compiler, has most evidently made this a labor of love extending over many years. The volume gives evidence of extensive research in this country and abroad. He has sought to make his selection of documents as representative as possible of the multiple-phased activity of his church for the natives, the Spanish and then the American settlers, and the clergy. Each

document is introduced by some helpful editorial notes and is further explained by footnotes.

The most serious criticism that the present reviewer would make is in regard to the index. Whereas the index of more than seven pages seems to include all names and places mentioned in the text, insufficient attention has been given to topics. For instance the following subjects, often referred to in the documents, are not mentioned in the index: Chinese, Duelling, Civil War, Indians, Papal Infallibility, Protestants, and the Syllabus of Errors. Even such an historic old church as Old Saint Mary's in San Francisco goes unlisted in the index although on page 116 an interesting account is given of its erection.

This book is a MUST for all collectors of Californiana, for the libraries of our institutions of higher learning, and for our public libraries. Research students in the history of California and more particularly in the history of religion within the state will be turning to this important source book for generations to come. Father Weber had rendered the cause of history in California much needed service by making this collection of documents available to the public.

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*Lancers for the King: A Study of the Frontier Military System of Northern New Spain, with a Translation of the Royal Regulation of 1772.* By Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Odie B. Faulk. (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965. 128 pp. \$8.50 cloth; \$20.00 leather.) Reviewed by John Hawgood.

Two young historians, one a Texan and the other an Easterner "gone Western," who now help to man two bastions—the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society and the University of Arizona—of that flourishing outpost of civilization and culture which is Tucson, have jointly authored, under the sponsorship of the Arizona Historical Foundation, this handsome and magnificently produced book. In his Foreword Father Kieran McCarty points out that even Herbert Eugene Bolton, though paying such high tribute to "Spanish military leadership" and to "Catholic religious accomplishment" allowed the rank and file presidial soldier to remain "in the shadows," and that now Mr. Brinckerhoff and Dr. Faulk "have given us a far better look at the presidial soldier and the frontier presidio than has been possible before." This is undoubtedly true, which makes it all the more to be deplored that in this fine-looking and expensive book the actual amount of textual description of these two important factors in the history of the West allowed to these two able young authors is so meager. After a seven-page Introduction, about one-half of which is historical recapitulation of well-known facts, they have only a twelve-page chapter (Part IV: The Spanish Military System in the Interior Province—*an Appraisal*) in which to sum up the results of their researches. These two together would have made an excellent little nineteen-page pamphlet, for which (with several illustrations) fifty cents could easily have been charged. From the point of view of real contribution to knowledge the rest of the book is padding, and even if the packaging job is magnificent, this is



what the remainder really is. Fifty-five pages (pp. 11-66) are devoted to a facsimile reprint of the 1834 edition of the Spanish Royal Regulations of 1772 (left-hand pages, each embellished, for some reason, with a border copied from a book published in 1739!) with a complete English translation of that document (right-hand pages, with margins so wide that there was room for numerous elaborate footnotes in them). These particular Royal Regulations were published in Mexico in 1771, in Spain in 1772, again in Mexico in 1773, once more in Spain in 1822, twice in the Republic of Mexico in the 1820's, and finally in Mexico in 1834. They can therefore hardly be described as either rare or very inaccessible (see, further, Henry R. Wagner's bibliography, *The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794*, Albuquerque, 1937, Volume II, for a fully annotated listing of editions). This reprint and translation of the Regulations of 1772 thus constitutes almost one half of what we find between the covers of *Lancers for the King*. The rest (apart from the aforementioned nineteen pages allotted to the authors' introduction and narrative) is made up of fourteen pages of illustrations (many of them excellent, depicting the weapons and equipment of the Presidial soldier), nineteen pages (including three pages of explanation) of "Facsimiles of Documents Used by The Authors" (some significant and others somewhat insignificant), five more pages of critical appendices, and a somewhat scrappy three-page Bibliography which lists as its last item "WOODWARD, Arthur. Letters to authors on Spanish uniforms, military equipment, and weapons. January 8, 1964; March 12, 1964. Patagonia, Arizona." It might have been more profitable to the reader for the authors to have printed these two presumably unpublished letters (if printable), than the somewhat hackneyed Royal Regulations of 1772. There are, in addition, in this book, the usual prelims, two excellent maps specially drawn by Don Bufkin (one on p. 68, the other a fold-in between pp. 80 and 81.) and no fewer than *twelve* entirely blank pages each about nine inches by twelve. The late Max Beerbohm (see *Conversations with Max*, by S. N. Behrman and Messrs. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue of Beerbohm's library) would have known what to do with these.

*Lancers for the King* is thus rather like the Curate's Egg. The yolk (provided by Brinckerhoff and Faulk) is excellent—when you finally come on it; the shell is worthy of Faubergé himself; but what comes between could have been fresher. This book will adorn many collectors' libraries and will be hoarded by assiduous second-hand dealers for a rise in the market, but it is beyond the means of the poor scholar and will not be bought by certain libraries in Mexico, in Spain—and in England—where the affluent society is less evident than it is, presumably around the Phoenix headquarters of the Arizona Historical Foundation. Those boys sure must think everybody struck it rich! Could we (without disrespect to anybody, we hope) suggest to the Great State of Arizona that she really does not need to dress up her history books—in addition to her historians—as dudes. She has a great story to tell: it can best be told straight.



*Inland Empire: D. C. Corbin and Spokane.* By John Fahey. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965. 270 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by Merle Wells.

As a builder of branch railroads, D. C. Corbin contributed notably to the rise of Spokane. In this biography, John Fahey rates Corbin's branch lines to the Coeur d'Alene and Kootenay mines, along with the main line of the Northern Pacific, quite highly: Corbin's career "concerns in good measure the elevation of Spokane to stature among inland western cities. His Coeur d'Alene railway 'opened the marvelous treasure of the Coeur d'Alene to the world,' and his line north from Spokane became 'one of the chief foundations of Spokane's greatness and prosperity (p. 4).'" The author concludes that "Corbin had found Spokane Falls in 1888 a town of seven thousand, thriving with the substance of his chippy railway to the Coeur d'Alenes. Soon he was to revive Spokane after depression by capturing for it the mineral outpouring of Rossland, and during the city's most accelerated growth period early in the twentieth century, 1900-10, he bestowed on it the commerce of northern Idaho, irrigated farm land, and coal and sugar industries (p. 225)." His publishers carry this considerably farther, and credit the volume with "demonstrating that the city's early prosperity was charted predominantly by Corbin's career"

Fortunately the author refrains from distorting his account to support such a conclusion. He does not hesitate to point out that while Corbin did put in the pioneer rail and lake steamer system necessary for initial development of the Coeur d'Alene lead-silver lodes, Corbin's line did not run to Spokane. Moreover, his Coeur d'Alene enterprise had a useful life of only two years before the Northern Pacific took it over in 1888. That same fall, a rival Union Pacific subsidiary entered the mining region along a superior route. By 1890, before the Coeur d'Alene mines really had a chance to do much for Spokane, the Northern Pacific had to abandon Corbin's route altogether in favor of its eastward line through the mines to Montana. Corbin's Union Pacific rival (the Washington and Idaho) offered Spokane its important rail connection to the fabulous Coeur d'Alene mines.

Corbin's branch line to another great lead-silver district near Rossland, British Columbia, had an equally short-lived effect. Placed in service to Rossland, December 16, 1896, his Spokane Falls and Northern Railway brought mining prosperity to Spokane until 1898. Then the Canadian Pacific diverted the mining traffic there to other centers. Associated with this shift, British and Canadian investment displaced Spokane capital in the Kootenay mines. A great Spokane boom resulted from profitable Rossland mine sales in 1898. These transactions, though, coincided with the loss of Spokane's rail traffic to the new mines. The Spokane Falls and Northern continued, however, to serve territory north of Spokane in Washington.

Fahey generally prefers caution in attributing Spokane's rise to Corbin's rail-

ways, and perhaps he should have been still more careful. Spokane's major growth came in the decade after 1910, when Corbin built another branch railway. This enterprise, the Spokane International, ran through North Idaho to a Canadian-Pacific connection on the international boundary in 1906. By that time, though, Spokane had so many transcontinental rail outlets through North Idaho that the claim that Corbin "bestowed upon it the commerce of northern Idaho" does not really hold up.

"No man of his time had molded Spokane as had D. C. Corbin, who viewed its high buildings and long streets from his tall-backed, rung rocking chair on the wide porch of the austere house at the end of Stevens Street (p. 224)." Yet, by the author's own presentation, Corbin's branch lines hardly can be viewed as decisive in the rise of Spokane. Real estate, irrigation, and others of Corbin's ventures helped Spokane significantly. So did his railways. Other lines, though, had more to do with Spokane's importance as a transportation center. While not overlooked, the others get partially lost in the perspective of this biography.

Corbin's system of financing and building his railways gets close examination. Some details simply are unavailable. Extensive research in the proper sources enables the author to present a reasonable account which avoids undue praise or condemnation of the management of Corbin's enterprises. Useful both as a regional transportation study and as an example of independent—rather than large corporation—railway building, this account generally is scholarly. Sources for quotations and for some details are cited. Footnotes, many of them informative, are buried at the end of the book. Most factual details are handled carefully, although reconciliation of his Spokane population figures (1888, 7,000; 1894, 11,000; 1897, 35,000; 1898, 40,000; and 1917, 158,000) with those of the Federal Census (1890, 20,000; 1900, 36,000; 1910, 104,000; and 1920, still 104,000) is a trifle difficult. In spite of some slight defects, though, this is a useful and welcome book.

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*History of the Sierra Nevada.* By Francis P. Farquhar. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1965. 262 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Ted C. Hinckley.

With such a magnificent subject, the reader may expect to find a panoramic, narrative carpet of historical facts woven together in a richly detailed, Bernard DeVoto-like fashion. In his historical ascent author Farquhar selected not to follow this path. In fact a powerful, integrated theme never really materializes. Fascinated by the subject he knows so well, yet compelled to mark historical guideposts from prehistoric times to the present (in less than 250 pages), his study becomes a series of accurate and always enjoyable Sierra Club reflections.

While the author has not matched this particular mountain, none will doubt that he found it an intense and challenging experience. The record of his climb is a beautiful book filled with Ansel Adams photos, useful chapter bibliographies, carefully worked maps, and much information on men like Clarence King and

John Muir—naturalists for whom the Sierra was clearly a heaven on earth. There are useful chapters on such topics as the railroad triumph, Yosemite, the Big Trees, and the pioneer efforts to explore Mount Whitney. Because of the abundant gold-rush literature, the writer has wisely treated this particular facet sparingly. Similarly slighted and less excusable, has been the omission of artists whose works have glorified the range.

Past president of both the Sierra Club and the California Historical Society, the distinguished author has had the privilege of laboring alongside many of the important Californians who over the last one-half century have campaigned to preserve the natural majesty that is the High Sierra. Like his fellow Sierra Club members, Farquhar senses the poetry of his subject. His is a life-long love affair. So unblushing is his devotion that from time to time he asks his reader to share his affection "when driving along U.S. 50 on a winter's day." No less refreshing to this reviewer was the intelligent manner with which Farquhar referred his readers to George R. Stewart's *Storm*. A work of fiction to be sure, but a classic well-deserving the attention of those who wish to understand and be thrilled by the power and ineluctable charm that is California's physiographic backbone.

Some humble tips to the half-Parkman, half-Horgan whose eloquent pen will one day write a history of the Sierra Nevada. To know the mountain mass intimately is important. More critical, however, is to view it as sometime benefactor, sometime monster. Furthermore, this cordillera has affected the lives of those who live to its east quite as much as those who inhabit its western slope. If Sacramento is significant in Sierra history, so is Virginia City. To spend only three pages on the High Sierra's aboriginal inhabitants and virtually start its history in the eighteenth century is not *its* history but the story of modern man in the Sierra. What *is* the truly great historical drama? Fundamentally it is a titanic ecological encounter. Some humans have lived in harmony with its veneration, others have raped the mountain with fire and refuse, and all too belatedly some citizens have caressed it with intelligent conservation and park preservation. Correspondingly, the Sierra's vastness can transform man into an artist or reduce him to cannibalism. For his courage to begin marking such a trail, readers in and out of California are indebted to the public-spirited Francis P. Farquhar.

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*Pathway in the Sky*. By Hal Roth. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1965. 231 pp. \$8.50.) Reviewed by Shirley Sargent.

Hal Roth is no John Muir with memorable words in his photo-text story of the John Muir Trail, but his 170 masterful and eloquent pictures command the reader to "Climb the mountains and get their good tidings."

Read in the somberness of winter, this big 8½ by 11 inch book sets the backpacker to checking his gear and dreaming of adventures in old, old but ever-new terrain. Read in other parts of the year, it may well direct the four-wheeled American to two-footed verification.



In the past fifteen years, photographer-journalist Roth has thoroughly acquainted himself with the geography, natural history, human history, and use of the John Muir trail, which had its beginnings in 1884 as a dream in Theodore S. Solomons' youthful mind. Exhaustive exploration and mapping was done by Solomons, Muir, Bolton Coit Brown, Joseph LeConte, and a handful of other devoted Sierrans. Construction was begun in 1915 and completed in 1938. Roth's six chapters, or essays, dealing with such history are fascinating.

Altogether there are thirty-eight essays on everything from Muir to ghost forests, deer, bighorn sheep, and the life of a packer. Each brief essay is factual, interesting, and documented. Happily the book is backed by able footnotes and an index, unexpected bonuses.

To accompany the narrative are the treasury of photos, nine in color, a few fine sketches by Muir and Brown, and several maps. Each picture is a story in itself, whether it is inspiring like the ones of Forester Pass, Pinchot Pass, and the aerial view of the Cathedral Pass country, affectionate like the study of a Foxtail pine and a Belding ground squirrel, or outright amusing like the series of tired hikers finding ease and comfort on grass and granite.

Roth's pen is not as smooth and telling as is his camera. His transitions from subject to subject are sometimes awkward, and his prose often pedestrian, but he has moments of rapport with wilderness and expression. Along Sunrise Creek, "The perfume of the azalea is so lilting, sweet and pervading that . . . I want to sink down among the velvety green of the new ferns and stay there forever. . . ." Complementing a full page photo of mountains and rivers, superbly humanized by a girl dipping her feet, is his comment, "Ah tranquillity! . . . A time of delight that can't be measured nor weighed, but only felt. . . ."

Howell-North and Hal Roth are to be congratulated for presenting a book that lets people "Climb the mountains and get their good tidings," no matter what the season or reason for not doing it in person.

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*The Governors of California: From Peter H. Burnett to Edmund G. Brown.* By Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert. (Georgetown, California: The Talisman Press, 1965. 482 pp. \$15.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

This publication is an occasion for rejoicing. In one compact volume Professors Melendy and Gilbert of San Jose State College have provided an indispensable reference book which every serious student of California history will find informative and of continuing value. In the bargain the authors have also pointed rather dramatically to needs and opportunities for further research, not so much by what is said, but by what is left unsaid. (Librarians and college teachers take note!) But more. The authors have written a history that blends the biographical with the administrative highlights of California's thirty-two governors.

After an extremely slender and disappointing introduction, "California Governors from 1769 to 1849," the reader finds that each governor's biographical



sketch is prefaced with a "Calendar of Events" and concludes with a "Bibliography" detailing sources—one of the important dividends of the book, by the way. Each sketch runs from five-and-a-half pages (Latham and Bartlett) to nineteen pages (Brown), with an average treatment of about a dozen pages. The end effect is a bit uneven, but understandable. However, there seems to be no relationship between the length of a given sketch and a governor's importance, for example, Earl Warren, who held office longer than any other governor, is treated in thirteen pages.

The primary focus of each essay is on the gubernatorial years: the pre-gubernatorial and post-gubernatorial years are dismissed succinctly, and in some cases, abruptly. But the intent of the authors is fulfilled by their concentration on the heart of their effort. And on this point, accepting the limits imposed on their study, the authors have succeeded admirably in writing a brief and cogent history of the state's executive office.

Reading for the first time a parallel biographical study of California's governors, one is struck by the fact, as is the case in many other states in the Union, that California has had few really great or distinguished chief executives—barely a handful. Perhaps unlike other states however, the average age of California's governors is surprisingly young. And that raises a question: did the far Western Frontier provide the politically ambitious young man a greater arena and opportunity for early achievement? If so, was this a motivation for many of California's early governors? What of other early political officeholders?

The Talisman Press has provided a clean and attractive format for the text and has embellished the book with portraits of the thirty-two governors. The index, adequate as to proper name, is skimpy on subject entries. No matter. This is a book to be read and studied. It is a gold mine of information and a reservoir of research opportunity.

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*The Nevada Adventure: A History.* By James W. Hulse. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1965. 290 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by James T. King.

Clearly and competently written, *The Nevada Adventure* is a well-balanced, concise history of the state of Nevada. In his preface, author James W. Hulse states that the book "is aimed primarily at the schools of Nevada, although I hope adult readers will find it interesting." Professor Hulse may be assured of success on both counts. Neither does it talk down to the high school student nor is it so elementary that it will bore the adult.

The scope of *The Nevada Adventure* is comprehensive, ranging from prehistoric times to the present. Beginning with the primeval upheavals which created "the strange and forbidding landscape [of] our state," Hulse sets the natural stage for his narrative, and peoples it first with prehistoric man, then in sequence with the explorer, the emigrant, the Mormon and the miner, the rancher, and then finally with the tourist and the government scientist of the

mid-twentieth century. Although Professor Hulse observes that "most of Nevada is life-threatening desert," he insists that it "is not really a wasteland but a challenge and an opportunity for civilized man"—an attitude with which those who, over the past century, have had the hardiness to accept Nevada's challenge and the ability to take advantage of its many opportunities would no doubt agree.

Himself a son of Nevada, Hulse writes with warmth and fondness of his native state. This does not, however, tempt him into either the empty glorification or the antiquarianism that have so often marred state histories. He deals frankly with factors influential in the development of Nevada, whether they be the idealism of Governor Henry G. Blasdel or the chicanery of the railroaders, the high competence of Senator Key Pittman or the narrow self-seeking of Senator William P. Sharon. Similarly, Hulse stresses the significance of mining, ranching and railroading in Nevada's political and economic history, but acknowledges the importance also of legalized gambling and easy divorce laws.

Professor Hulse writes most feelingly of Nevada's "Bonanza Years," from 1864 to 1881. Such familiar elements of Nevada history as the reign of Virginia City as queen of the mining camps, the fortunes built upon mines of fabulous wealth, the turbulent politics before and after statehood, and the association of one-time miner Samuel L. Clemens with the *Territorial Enterprise* are all a part of a story which probably will never lose its excitement and which is well recounted in the pages of *The Nevada Adventure*. Handled with equal skill, however, are the less well-known events of more recent years—particularly the growth of mining of nonprecious metals, the extension of the Southern Pacific and Western Pacific Railroads, reclamation and irrigation projects, the increasingly important tourist industry, and finally the Plowshare and Nuclear Test programs. This last, states Hulse, is an indication that pioneering in Nevada did not end with the nineteenth century: "Nevadans of the present and the future, like those of the past, seem destined to share in the continuing process of search and discovery."

Perhaps the volume's only major shortcoming is a lack of bibliography or notes. Although the book probably will be used primarily in high school classes, students will often appreciate some guide to further reading, and many adult readers would prefer to have some notion of other available materials.

The book is well illustrated, and the maps are unusually clear and helpful. It will be received with gratitude by those desiring a good brief history of Nevada.

# RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by EDWIN DE LAIX

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- AINSWORTH, ED, editor. *Golden Checkerboard*. Palm Desert, California: Desert-Southwest, Inc., 1965. \$6.00.
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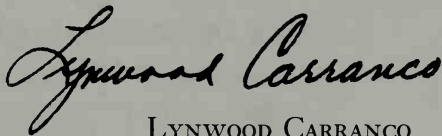
Dr. Servín:

My article on Bret Harte was based on Professor George Stewart's biography on Harte. Any writer who writes about Harte *must* use Dr. Stewart's biography. The division secretary, who typed out the final paper, neglected to insert two footnotes giving Dr. Stewart credit for two paragraphs.

Professor Stewart has always been the recognized authority on Harte. His chapter on this area has been printed and reprinted by local newspapers. English teachers have always admired and respected him as a scholar, writer, and teacher.

You certainly have my permission to publish any editorial changes that you might wish to make.

Sincerely,



LYNWOOD CARRANCO

---

The editor of the California Historical Society acknowledges Mr. Carranco's admission that his article was based on Professor George R. Stewart's biography. He, however, further wishes to note that the article contained other sentences, phrases, and parts of sentences that appear in Dr. Stewart's original biography, *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile*. The editor sincerely hopes that such an incident will not recur and that the readers of the *Quarterly* will read and enjoy Dr. Stewart's complete biography which was republished by, and is available from, the Kennikat Press, Port Washington, New York.

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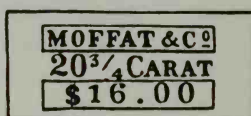
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# California Historical Society

## *Quarterly*

Edited by Manuel P. Servín

Volume XLV

1966

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
SAN FRANCISCO

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